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14 April 1986

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AGRICULTURE

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEVELOPMENT OF SILAGE MAIZE; PRODUCTION PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED

East Berlin FELDWIRTSCHAFT in German Vol 27 No 2, Feb 86 pp 74-76

[Editorial Comment: on 6 and 7 March 1985 the 4th Maize Colloquium was held in Boehlitz-Ehrenberg. Joint sponsors were the Karl-Marx University Leipzig, the Martin-Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, the LPG Crop Production "Paul Froehlich", Leipzig and the Bezirk Directorate of the Agricultural-Scientific Association of the GDR, Leipzig. The following is a selection of addresses given at this important exchange of practical experiences]

[Text] In the GDR silage maize is grown to a considerable extent since the end of the 50's. The introduction and expansion of silage maize production in our country originally was part of the socialist restructuring of agriculture. The production of silage maize made it possible to develop and utilize a fully mechanizeable feed production process. Within a few years silage maize was grown on more than 400 000 ha. The current acreage of about 360 000 ha has been relatively constant for many years (table 1).

Because silage maize production was begun in the GDR relatively early in comparison with other European countries, it has resulted in the formation of certain ideas about silage maize that no longer do justice to today's norms. This is confirmed by the following facts:

--The very late kinds of maize available in the initial years did not reach the minimum TS content of 35 percent, internationally required today, in the fully developed, husked cob and 40 percent cob shares in the total TS yield. Because ripening times were insufficient and yield was determined mostly by stalks and leaves, factors like the distance between rows, plant density, seed balance and also the use of effective planting technology played a subordinate part.

Table 1: Development of Planted Maize Acreage in the GDR

Year	Planted acreage in 1 000 ha		
	AL	Maize	% of AL
1955	-	10.1	-
1960	4 848	438.7	9.0
1970	4 618	336.9	7.3
1980	4 760	364.8	7.7
1981	4 741	365.5	7.7

1982	4 731	373.8	7.9
1983	4 734	372.6	7.9

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--Because of insufficient ripening there were hardly any harvest cob losses so that row-by-row harvesting was not necessary. Maize cutting that is independent of planted rows is the principal way of harvesting silage maize to this day. This results in cob losses of up to 10 percent of the cob yield for fully ripened silage maize.

--The presently still valid evaluation system for silage maize is not directed toward producing silage maize that is rich in dry substance. This means that silage maize with 18 percent TS (quality level B) can already be put into quality level A when the energy concentration is larger than 570 EFr/kg TS. Cob proportions and the quality criteria determined by cob proportions are to this day not considered in the evaluation.

--The combination of planting intermediate winter crops and maize as second crops resulted in yield advantages under the conditions of planting maize that ripens very late in the season. Also, planting these kinds of silage maize as principal crops did not guarantee the production of better quality. On the other hand, the advantages of high-yield early ripening silage maize hybrids can be utilized only if a vegetation time from the beginning of May to the end of September is available.

The concepts about silage maize formed in the initial 10 to 20 years of planting still determine today the thoughts and actions of farmers in many places.

Table 2: Silage Maize Acreages in GDR Bezirks (1983)

Bezirk	Planted Acreages in 1 000 ha				
	AL	Maize	% of AL	Hffl (1)	% of Hffl
Rostock	376.2	22.8	6.1	164.8	13.8
Schwerin	390.7	26.1	6.7	205.0	12.7
Neubrandenburg	513.1	37.5	7.3	218.8	17.1
Potsdam	456.4	53.3	11.7	224.3	23.8
Frankfurt (2)	305.5	33.9	10.9	111.1	30.5
Cottbus	256.2	26.9	11.1	129.7	20.7
Magdeburg	574.0	45.8	8.0	225.4	20.3
Halle	479.5	38.7	8.1	131.3	29.4
Leipzig	283.8	23.0	8.1	99.1	23.2
Erfurt	385.4	26.9	7.0	134.5	20.0
Dresden	279.5	19.1	6.8	158.0	12.1
Gera	146.0	7.7	5.3	83.0	9.3
Suhl	71.2	3.3	4.6	74.1	4.5
Karl-Marx-St	216.2	76.	3.5	160.2	4.7
GDR	4 733.5	372.6	7.9	2 119.3	17.6

(1) principal feed acreage

(2) including Berlin

## Development of Planted Acreage and Yield

In the GDR silage and green maize takes up an average of barely 8 percent of the farmland and 17.6 percent of the principal feed acreage. About 90 percent of the planted acreage is used for silage maize which goes primarily to winter feed. From this can be concluded that on the average about 30 percent of the rough feed demand for winter feed is covered by silage maize. Because production conditions in the GDR vary considerably, the production volume of maize is very different in the individual bezirks (table 2). The maize production volume is largest in bezirks where sandy soil conditions predominate and where pasture land constitutes a small proportion of the farming acreage. Among these bezirks are Potsdam, Frankfurt (Oder) and Cottbus with more than 10 percent maize production on agricultural land, and Magdeburg, Halle and Leipzig with more than 8 percent. In the northern as well as southern bezirks climatic conditions for maize production are becoming increasingly unfavorable, but increasingly more favorable for red clover and field grass. This is the principal reason for the relatively small share of silage maize in the farmland and principal feed acreages in the respective bezirks.

If the maize proportion of the principal feed acreage is considered, a somewhat different grouping emerges. In that case, the bezirks of Frankfurt (Oder) and Halle, which are poor in pasture land, are in first place with a maize share of about 30 percent. In these bezirks, about 50 percent of winter feed for cattle must on the average be covered by silage maize. In the second group are the bezirks of Potsdam, Cottbus, Magdeburg, Leipzig and Erfurt where silage maize amounts to 20 to 24 percent of the principal feed acreage. Here too, 33 to 40 percent of winter feed demand is covered by silage maize, which is clearly above the GDR average.

The main problem of silage maize production in the GDR is the insufficient development of yield. Table 3 shows the development of useable yield potential and actual yields in the GDR. According to table 2, the ratio of utilization of the yield potential rose from an average of 45 percent in the years 1976/80 to a 57 percent average in the past 4 years. Internationally, the average utilization ratio is 70 percent. In order to make up this difference in the GDR, silage maize yields must be increased by 25 percent over today's yield level. Progressive enterprises have already reached and surpassed this goal. Insufficient utilization of breeding progress, which is not acceptable from the point of view of the national economy, is the result of the fact that progressive processing methods are utilized in production only with hesitation and often not in their complex form. Adherence to traditional concepts plays a considerable part here.

### Main Factors in the Insufficient Development of Yield and Quality for Silage Maize

The following are the main factors in the insufficient development of yield and quality for silage maize:

--The partly extreme limitation of vegetation time through too late seeding and too early harvesting (table 4). A chief reason for this is the still

prevailing practice of growing maize as secondary crop and intermediary winter crop. This practice can result in essential restrictions on yield and quality development of silage maize by putting more stress on the soil structure, by not providing sufficient supplies of organic substances, by increasing the mineral content of organic soil substance through plowing at higher soil temperatures in the middle of May, and by overloading water tables.

Table 3: Development and Utilization of Useable Yield Potential (EPn) in the GDR

Years	EPn TS dt/ha	Actual TS dt/ha	EPn: Actual in percent
1976/80	128	59	46
1981/84	132	75	57

EPn according to ZIMMERMANN H - 1984, ZIS Nossen

Table 4: Planted Maize Acreage as of 15 May (in %)

Bezirks	1982	1983	1984
Rostock	65.5	7.3	70.4
Schwerin	67.5	34.8	68.1
Neubrandenburg	74.3	32.9	74.4
Potsdam	65.1	62.7	93.9
Frankfurt	56.2	43.6	73.8
Cottbus	39.4	59.9	50.4
Berlin	75.7	55.9	78.2
Magdeburg	67.7	70.3	73.8
Halle	58.0	70.3	60.3
Leipzig	49.8	49.3	44.5
Erfurt	76.8	76.8	82.0
Gera	62.3	74.7	58.1
Suhl	36.5	22.6	76.4
Dresden	46.6	43.6	43.9
Karl-Marx-Stadt	60.3	81.2	70.2
GDR	61.8	52.0	69.6

Silage maize must be harvested when the TS content in the developed cob has reached 35 percent. Because the weather changes from year to year, the enterprise management must make possible an adjustment of the harvest date to the degree of maturation. Mature silage maize is hardly ever threatened by frost so that in most areas harvesting can continue to the middle of October. Through well-timed planting and appropriate harvesting current yields can be increased by at least 10 percent.

--Only about two thirds of the silage maize acreage is organically fertilized, a good half of this with stable manure and the rest with liquid natural manure. Contrary to international experience and scientific recommendation, fertilization of plants in growth is given little attention. For silage maize

that is not organically fertilized yield losses of from 5 to 15 percent must be expected, depending on soil conditions.

--Many enterprises are still producing maize with the drilling rather than laying method. This results in overextended seed amounts, irregular seeding depth, deficiencies in unified planting, irregular development of individual plants, and often in a lack of resistance, and all of these factors can lead to considerable deficiencies in yield and quality.

--Many maize producers have not yet mastered the process of selecting the kind of maize that matures in accordance with the particular crop site so that yield and quality losses are already preprogrammed. The correct supply of ordered maturation brands to enterprises has so far not yet been guaranteed.

--Whereas the majority of weeds with dual seed leaves can be treated with available herbicides, herbicides that are effective every time, especially against millet-type weeds, are not yet available. The same is true in regard to insecticides for screw worm and grain fly both of which can do increasing damage to maize.

--At the harvest of ripe maize there are often losses of up to 15 percent, at least half of which are cob losses. By improving the quality of seeding (especially through straight rows and exact furrow connections), by observing a 70 cm distance between rows, by applying effective weed control and using durable stock it is possible to employ harvesting methods adapted to row-planting which, in turn, is a condition for decreasing harvest losses. In conclusion it can be stated that only consistent work with site-oriented high-yield concepts can guarantee high yields and best possible silage quality for silage maize production. Site-oriented high-yield concepts include the extensive utilization of scientific-technical progress for each respective production process.

#### Summary

In this article the importance of silage maize production is explained in terms of planting site and yield. A characteristic of silage maize production is that the proportion of maize acreage in relation to the total of agricultural land has been constant for many years. The crucial problem of maize production in the GDR is the low yield level. At the present time, the useable yield potential is utilized to only 57 percent. In international norms a utilization ratio of at least 70 percent of the yield potential is required and also achieved.

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ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TECHNOLOGICAL VIABILITY, FLEXIBILITY OF COMBINES STRESSED

East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT in German Vol 33 No 9, Sep '85 pp 1286-1300

[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziol, Dr of Economics, Dr h.c. (honoris causa), graduate political economist, Director of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management CC SED, Chairman of the Science Council for Economic Research with the GDR Academy of Sciences, member of the CC SED, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, member of the Research Council, recipient of the National Prize, born 1927. Original title: "Socialist Planned Economy in the GDR and Its Further Perfecting".]

[Text] The socialist planned economy was and is the decisive foundation for the stable and dynamic development of our national economy. It has proven itself in building the foundation of socialism, and proves itself again today through the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic. The SED has always paid the greatest attention to the improvement of the socialist planned economy with respect to the forces of production and production relationships which are further developing.

The SED's economic strategy for the 80's was decided at the Tenth SED Party Congress, and the task was set to make management, planning and economic accounting further qualified to achieve that end. (Footnote 1) ("Report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party at the Tenth Party Congress of the SED," reporting: E. Honecker, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1981, p 60).

The basic direction of improvement in the management, planning and economic accounting in the GDR's national economy consists of strengthening of democratic centralism in the sense of a higher quality of central direction and planning along with simultaneously growing individual responsibility, democratic involvement and creative initiative on the part of the worker collectives in the companies and combines. This has the goal of increasing the effectiveness of the national economy, in the interest of the policies of the primary task in its unity of economic and social policy.

Precisely in the realization of the economic strategy of the Tenth SED Party Congress, democratic centralism proves itself as a building block and undeniable principle of the socialist planned economy.



The combination of state control of the national economy under direction of the party of the working class and the development of creative initiative on the part of the workers gains increasing significance. This comes out of consistent application of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and is based on the socialist planned economy which has proven itself in the life of the GDR and in the socialist brother countries - especially the USSR.

The formation and reinforcing of the GDR combines was of cardinal significance for the further qualification of the management, planning, and economic accounting. It was a necessary step in the transition of the national economy towards comprehensive intensification. (Footnote 2) (Ninth Conference of the Central Committee of the SED, "From the Politburo's Report to the Central Committee of the SED," reporting: E. Honecker, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1984, p 31) The knowledge of the classical scholars of Marxism-Leninism concerning the socializing of work - Lenin spoke of the "factual socializing" - was consistently applied under the conditions of modern forces of production and production relationships. Thanks to the socialist planned economy and its continuously increasing effectiveness, uninterrupted economic growth could be provided. This was the decisive requirement needed in order to increasingly satisfy the material and cultural human needs, to expand the material and technical base (of the GDR), and to strengthen the socialist state and reliably secure its defense.

The national income, taken as the concentrated expression of the gross national product, has increased continuously. The average annual growth rate from 1980 to 1984 was 4.4 percent, and the highest absolute growth since the formation of the republic was attained in 1984. The plan predicts a high rate of growth again this year - 4.4 percent.

The high rates of growth in net industrial production are also characteristic; they grew by 8.5 percent in 1984, and work productivity increased by 7.7 percent. This year's Plan calls for an increase of 8 percent in net industrial production and 7.1 percent in productivity. As of May, the planned growth rate could be reached or surpassed.

That was the deciding prerequisite for further improvements in the standard of living of the public.

This is demonstrated, above all, in the apartment construction program which was the centerpiece of the SED's social-political program. It has become clear here in the most recent times how, in socialism, growing economic effectiveness is tied to higher social effectiveness. Over 207,000 new or modernized apartments were turned over in 1984. Living conditions for about 6.6 million citizens have significantly improved with the turnover of 2.2 million new or modernized apartments since 1971. This is a major advance in the solution of the apartment question as a social problem by 1990. There was not only a major quantitative improvement, especially since 1971, in the apartment inventory, but its structure has also improved. The percentage of apartments with a shower or bath increased in this time period from 39 to 70 percent. In the 70's the number of apartments was increased primarily with large apartment complexes, which allowed for quick and effective progress. Now additional apartment facilities are being created increasingly in the inner

city areas through modernization and rehabilitation measures, and construction in smaller vacant areas. This reduces the cost of infrastructure development for electricity, water, and traffic, and permits the use of existing social facilities.

The rapid growth of important spheres of the consumer goods industry, especially those which produced durable consumer goods, were closely associated with this centerpiece of the social political program. This enabled the considerable improvement in home culture, to which the developments in infrastructure, improvements in transit and communications facilities and the stable supply of electricity and water to the populace, and the complex makeup of the residential areas and inner city construction all made a measurable contribution.

In accordance with the performance principle and as a result of further social-political measures, monetary income of the populace grew from M 121 billion in 1980 to M 136 billion in 1984. Increased income proceeded with a significant growth in retail sales, which reached over M 108 billion in 1984.

At the same time, other social political measures went into effect. Among them are the pension increases for 2.2 million retirees, further improvements in material and personnel for adult education, the 489 new positions in medical and dental care which were opened in 1984, along with 6,112 new beds in hospitals and other inpatient medical facilities, the notable achievements and benefits in physical activities and sports as well as on the cultural-political level.

One major feature of the economic advances in the GDR is the achievement of this production growth while reducing energy and material use. The expenditure in production per unit of national income was able to be reduced from 1980 to 1983 by an average of 2.6 percent; last year it sank a further 3 percent in comparison to the previous year. From 1981 to 1984, the specific expenditures on economically significant energy supplies, raw materials and fabricated items could be reduced annually by an average of 6 percent. With that, for the first time the reductions were completed more quickly than the growth in production. The outstanding achievements in this effort were the replacement of heating oil with - above all - domestic brown coal, reduction in construction outlays, and the absolute reduction of truck goods movements. Reduction in the energy intensity enabled the energy savings which were called for in the five-year plan from 1981 to 1985, equivalent to 71.5 million tons, to be achieved by the end of 1984. For each unit of produced national income, the freight expenses sank to 82 percent of that required in 1980, and the production expenses sank to 89 percent. The economics of energy in transportation were considerably improved by reducing the percentage of rail diesel traction and the simultaneous increase in the percentage of electromotive traction to over 31 percent, and the concurrent moving of over 33 million tons of goods from highway to canal and rail. M 14 billion in energy and material expenditures was saved. The party's principal orientation towards even more effective use of domestic reserves for the production of grain and feed has proven itself as a politically and economically significant process.

The inventory of heavy machinery and durable equipment in the productive areas increased significantly from M 370 billion in 1970 to M 754 billion in 1983.

The number of university and technical school cadre who became active in the national economy increased from 761,600 in 1971 to 1.55 million in (1984).

At the same time, a significant structural change was made in the economy. The necessary completely new creation of an iron industry, heavy machinery construction, farm machinery production and the ship construction of the 50's and the 60's was followed by further expansion of the material-technical base through such branches as computer technology and microelectronics. Likewise, measures towards increasing domestic raw material and energy supplies have been taken for over a decade.

The production of domestic raw materials was significantly increased. Recycled raw materials were better used. The combination of high material and energy economy and the further increase in domestic reserves - including recycled materials - has always proven to be an economically effective and necessary task. Raw brown coal gained yet more importance as the most important base material for energy economics and the manufacturing processes, especially the chemical industry. Production of raw brown coal was able to be increased in only four years by 39.6 million tons to 323 million tons, and production of domestic natural gas was increased to 455 million cubic feet in 1984. With positive results with other raw materials as well, the percentage in value of domestic raw materials in the total raw material assets of the national economy could be further increased. The domestic energy and raw material resources were therefore used with extraordinary effort and with great consequence.

With the production of industrial robots - 43,000 were in use in the national economy by the end of 1984 - a further step was begun towards modernization of production technology and towards rationalization. Added to that is the strengthened orientation towards a qualitative and quantitative expansion of the production of industrial consumer goods.

A national economic increase in performance was organized on a principally new foundation, as outlined in the economic strategy determined at the Tenth SED Party Congress, and is revealed in the superior finishing of goods. "When we look back at the path travelled so far and at the new tasks, it appears more than ever: it was correct, that our Party oriented itself in time to go the way of intensification. That was not only an economic, but above all a political decision of wide-ranging significance." (Footnote 3) ("With Peak Performance Prepare for the Eleventh Party Congress. Seminar of the Central Committee of the SED with the General Directors of the Combines and the Party Organizations of the Central Committee on March 7th, 1985 in Leipzig," Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1985, p 76)

At the Ninth SED Central Committee Conference, Erich Honecker stated "that the intensively expanded reproduction has become the determining foundation for the growth of our national economy. With that, a change of principal significance was able to be carried out. To go the way towards comprehensive intensification, and indeed for the long term, is what makes up the contents

of the new stage of the realization of our economic strategy." (Footnote 4) (Ninth Conference of the Central Committee of the SED, loc. cit.)

With the comprehensive intensification of production, the previously most important change in the national economy of the GDR was completed. It showed the potency of the socialist planned economy in developing modern productive forces and using them effectively for the well-being of the people.

In the future, too, there will be demanding tasks placed on the socialist planned economy. With that, special significance comes to increases in productivity; it decides more than ever the solution of all national economic tasks. The raising of productivity was, is, and remains the central point and key question for the implementation of the main task's policies in their unity of economic and social politics, which is directed towards the well-being of the people.

With that, the knowledge of the classical scholars of Marxism-Leninism will be considered in the concrete form of the socialist planned economy. In the fundamental law of economy of time, which was discovered and formulated by Marx, the direct relationship is established between society's expenditure of time for production and the development of the society as a whole as well as that of its individuals. "The less time the society needs to produce wheat, cattle, etc., the more time it has for other production, whether material or spiritual... economy of time, all economies ultimately break down into that." (Footnote 5) (K. Marx/F. Engels, "Works" Vol 42, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1983, p 105) Growth in productivity is therefore a matter of the "profit of working time" for the production of other types, for more and better production. That is at the same time the foundation for the continuation of the decided economic and social policies. Lenin also considered the details of this relationship. After the working class gained power and consolidated it, the task came to the fore, "to create a form of society which is higher than capitalism, namely: the increase in productivity and in conjunction with that (and to this purpose) the better organization of work." (Footnote 6) (W. I. Lenin, "Works", Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1955 - 1965, Vol 27, p 247)

This theoretical reference point and the many years of practical experience were the foundation for the measures which went into effect in 1984 for the perfection of East German management, planning and economic accounting. These measures are a solid component of the new phase in the realization of the economic strategy, in which intensification of a comprehensive character is called for, and which provides for a stable foundation for their development over the long term. (These measures) serve to keep the consistent focus of management and planning on comprehensive intensification as an all-round resource-saving type of socialist reproduction. They provided the favorable conditions in the combine and company collectives towards that end, and set the required higher economic standards for decisive improvement in the relationship between expenditures and results.

Within the framework of democratic centralism, a great national economic responsibility is transferred to the combines. They are to significantly raise the economic effectiveness of science and technology. From the research stage to sales, the cycle of reproduction processes is to be comprehensively

intensified, in order to produce products in the most effective manner economically and with the highest quality. This is required according to the national plan for meeting the needs of the national economy, for providing the public with consumer goods, and for export. They have great mental and material potency at their disposal, which will enable them to shape their reproduction in a complex and far-sighted manner according to the high demands in national economic performance and effectiveness.

The combines are thereby first and foremost characterized by close connection between science and production - certainly a continuously high standard of science and technology are decisive for the dynamic development of intensively expanded reproduction. At the same time, it is a matter of best utilizing the most advanced achievements of science and technology, and using them in the most economical fashion. That was a main reason for forming the combines. The combines have an important scientific-technical potential integrated within them, and all of the considerable research and development capacity is organically tied to the reproduction process. A single company could not make allowances for (R&D), so the combines are the most effective form of contact between science and production. With the phase of intensively expanded reproduction which is so decisive for the over-all intensification, they are able to provide the conditions under which scientific-technological finds with great degrees of economical effectiveness can quickly be carried over into productive and marketable products, methods and technologies.

The combines themselves produce a large portion of the equipment needed for the modernization of the technologies and the considerable available assets, through exploitation of their own possibilities in the independent factories which manufacture equipment for internal combine use in economizing measures. In particular, the production of specific solutions for the use of robot technology and microelectronics helps organize a new push in rationalization. The qualitative and quantitative developments of the internal combine rationalization factories are increasingly proving themselves as a significant source for the forming of highly effective production. The internal delivery companies, which set their own quality requirements, are also gaining this significance. With their capacity, the combines possess everything required to effectively shape constant innovations in production and their cooperative relationships, and to accelerate product turnover.

With the greater involvement in international business activities in their reproduction process, the combines also have the necessary conditions to be able to flexibly react to changes in the international markets. In that capacity, the foreign trade factories and companies which belong to the combines are always subordinate to two entities, which means also the Ministry for International Trade, in the interest of protecting the monopoly in foreign trade.

For the new form of management, it is of decisive importance that the elements of the cycle of research-technology-production-sales which belong together from the point of view of optimal configuration are brought together, and that the cycle of intensively expanded reproduction is shaped in the most effective



manner. (Footnote 7) (G. Mittag, loc. cit. p 23) The ability of the people to transform the accomplishments of science and technology into economical and social effectiveness is decisive, for which favorable conditions were provided with the creation of the combines. This enables the full use of creativity and the wealth of ideas to be used for development of new technologies and new products and their quick realization, the maintenance of economic growth, and the increase in the wealth of the people.

There are currently 174 centrally-managed combines in the GDR. By placing them directly under the minister, it was possible to raise the work and the responsibility of the ministries to a higher level. Above all, it allowed the qualification of their management ability, which strengthens the democratic centralism. With formation of the combines, the national economic planning was significantly qualified through a direct link between the central national Plan with that of each individual combine. The combine is thereby the basic unit of leadership in East German industry, construction, transportation and communications.

Each combine works on the basis of binding national plan goals and accounting in accordance with the principles of economic accounting. Under socialist conditions, this responsibility represents the unity of technical, economical, and social processes.

The important place of the combines in the national economic reproduction process and its expanded maneuvering room place extraordinarily high demands on the management and the manager. At the top level of the combines, the general directors are first of all political functionaries who, as representatives of the Worker and Peasant Force, direct the solution of the economic tasks in the broad national economic interest of strengthening the socialist state. They are characterized by their firm relationship of trust with the workers, and work closely with the Party organization, the unions and the Free German Youth.

In the normal practice of East German combines, the production-oriented combine management directs a branch company - usually the largest and most productive company of the combine. The combine general director is at the same time the director of the branch company, and therefore directly linked to production management. This has proven rational and effective. It is of principal significance that the combine is comprised of jurisdictionally independent companies, which work on the basis of state plan tasks, which use economic accounting for the growth of the national income, and which maintain business relations with the bank, suppliers and customers, and the territorial organs. Their development and outline take place in the framework of the combine and on the basis of the state plan. Each individual company in the combine has a great responsibility for development of worker initiative and activities in the collectives for the socialist competition.

Further qualification of the management, planning and economic accounting is directed towards arranging the entire national economy of the GDR to always pursue intensively expanded reproduction, and towards economic growth through greater effectiveness. This places great demands on the central state planning and budgeting, which proves to be the primary instrument of the

national economic management for insuring proportional development according to plan. It is the decisive foundation of socialist economic management. All the major material and financial proportions and all the basic demands on development of performance and effectiveness in the national economy are determined through the central planning and budgeting. Their further qualification concentrates on the harnessing the qualitative factors of growth from within the inner sources of the GDR and getting them out to the economically important processes. Increase in productivity stands in the center as the first and most important question. The definite improvement in the relationship between expenditure and result, in particular, the reduction in the cost of production, is a major source to be tapped for increasing the national income. To sum it up, it is a matter of carrying out the standards and criteria of the comprehensive intensification, which was worked out by the SED in accordance with the growth conditions of the 80s to realize the new phase in the economic strategy:

- Production must continue to grow in the future with reduced consumption of energy, raw materials, and other material.
- The rate of productivity growth must be increased. Productivity must rise faster than the increase in capital investment.
- Economic results coming from science and technology, especially in exports, must increase more quickly than expenditures for research and development and the related scientific-technical work.
- All branches and fields must significantly improve the relationship between cost and benefits.

The comprehensive conversion of the national economy towards intensively expanded reproduction places great demands on the central state planning and budgeting (*italics*), in order to complete the change in the national economy quickly and timely, especially the structural changes connected with science in the direction of high technology and better refining. The mastery of economically important processes such as the development of microelectronics, better utilization of crude oil, and the considerable reduction of energy and material consumption with the conversion to chemical and industrial refining have all proven the capacity of the socialist planned economy in the GDR, and its great degree of flexibility.

With the Plan Directive for the Five-Year Plan 1986-1990 from the Council of Ministers of the GDR, the measures determined during and after the Tenth SED Party Congress were translated into detailed regulations. Those measures, for the refinement of management, planning and economic accounting, are now also for the detailed planning and implementation of the Five-Year Plan 1986-1990 and the annual national economic plans for this timeframe. (Footnote 8) (Authors' Collective, "Planning Directive 1986-1990. Important Instrument for Realization of the Economic Strategy," Magazine Series "Focalpoint Economics", Verlag Die Wirtschaft, Berlin 1985)

The complex procedural mastery of the reproduction process on the way towards greater production refinement in a comprehensive sense requires qualified work in long-term concepts in the combines. Topic and result of this work are the refinement concepts as the instruments of decisive strategic leadership for the Minister and the combine general directors to use in preparation of the Five-Year Plan and the annual national economic plans.

The necessary qualification of the central state planning requires a high standard of central budgeting as the essential part of socialist planning, which insures the internal cohesion of the Plan and the agreement of its parts. Based on the central state budget, the national economic proportions are determined according to the demands of the intensively expanded reproduction. The central state budget sets the demands on the yield and use of energy suppliers, raw materials, other material, equipment, facilities, and consumer goods. These are the measurements for the state's binding plan coefficients for the ministers, combines and companies.

The qualification of work with the central state budget is directed towards working out plan targets which fundamentally improve the ratio of costs and benefits. This is done in accordance with the intensification requirements.

With the comprehensive intensification, it became necessary to increasingly add products to the budget which would enable the accelerated application of scientific-technical advances and the increases of productivity. For this reason, the nomenclatura of the state budget plans for the time period 1986-1990 has been expanded. The national economic budget responsibility now lies with the general directors of the combines.

The planning of specific national economic involvement with help of the state budgeting insures that the structure of the national economic production agrees with the intensification requirements. The entire planning and budgeting in the national economy of the GDR is further developed and its flexibility is increased in this direction. The great dynamics of the economic processes of the 80's, especially the increasing acceleration of scientific-technical advances and the resulting rapid product turnover, make it essential to react quickly on short notice with the planning and budgeting for implementation of the plan tasks. For this reason, their qualification is closely tied to fostering the working agreement of plan, budget, and contract with the demands of the market and the scientific-technical advances. They are also bound to reducing the order and delivery times and managing business contracts with greater flexibility, and increasing the responsibility of the user for exact justification of their needs on the basis of progressive norms and data. The main goal is to constantly mobilize new reserves for greater and more effective production according to the needs and the requirements of the market through improved operational planning and budgeting. Currency standardization belongs in this. Greater rates of speed in the transfer of these funds would mean, practically speaking, less cash reserves and less running expenses. This task demands further rationalization of the production- and the entire company organization, with even more utilization of modern mathematical methods with the help of electronic data processing.



At the same time, there are measures to increase production continuity and flexibility. This is an economically significant source of further cost reductions by way of reducing or avoiding multiple stockpiles of material, finished goods and incomplete production. Discontinuities and insufficient plan or contract values are often the cause of end-of-the-month or end-of-the-quarter concentrated actions in order to meet the plan. For that reason, the binding introduction of 10-day, monthly, and quarterly plans works against insuring that production and transport capacity are used completely and equally in continuous supply of the national economy and the populace, and against immediate fulfilling of export orders. It is not so much a case of the production of value, but more a matter of filling the plan, contract, and supply requirements in the required product structure. The previous results reflect themselves here in a noticeable deduction in reserves. Further work is being done on the qualification of these time-dependent plans.

The measures for increasing reaction ability and flexibility in the combines and the companies range from the qualified conceptual work in preparation of the plans, particularly the requisition notification related to turnover, to the acceleration of the production preparation (for example, in computer-aided construction), to the reduction in the order and delivery times. For products of importance to the national economy, for example, the previously valid order times would be cut by about two thirds. The disposition possibilities of the buyer would be thereby increased, which would improve their ability to react to changed production and market conditions.

The further refinement of the management, planning, and economic accounting in the national economy of the GDR is tied to a qualitatively new step in the performance evaluation of the combines and the companies. It is directed towards the even more effective agreement between the needs of the state and the national economy with the economic situation and the interests of the combines, companies and their collectives. Based on the state's binding Plan coefficients in their totality, the budgets and the norms based on those budgets direct the now determined primary figures for performance evaluation: net production, net profit, products and performance for the populace, and export. These are directing the economic interests of the combines and the companies towards - a higher growth in production with sinking production consumption and lowest

costs,

- the increase of their contribution towards distributable end product for the national economy with the highest quality and reliability.

Since 1983, the four main figures from the combine and company performance evaluation have been taken in the aggregate as a basis at all levels of the national economy in the planning work as well as with the Plan implementation. They stand in the center of political and economic work, because they accurately portray the contribution of each combine and company towards raising the national income on the way of comprehensive intensification. Much that has contributed to a further noticeable improvement in the cost-benefit ratio has become that much more visible. The experience previously gained from working with these numbers makes this clear: the fundamental consensus of social, collective, and individual interests which is aware of the new standards of measurement for performance evaluation of the combines and

companies has proven to be a mobilizing force. In the economic life of the GDR they show their effect and demand production growth through effectiveness.

Above all, the economic interest of the combines and the companies in the reduction of production consumption, particularly the energy and material consumption, was increased with the introduction of the net production figure as a main standard of measurement in the performance evaluation. At the same time, their use supported a more effective cooperation in the organization, which was restricted by the formal, ineffective extension of inter-company cooperation. The further work in the qualification of the net production figure is aimed at utilizing the net production factors in planning and accounting. That is dependent upon closer examination of the existing distinctiveness and getting a better grasp of the relationships between the confirming of the distributable end product and contract fulfillment. With the use of the net profit figure as one of the main measures of performance evaluation, the combines and companies have oriented themselves towards improvement in the cost-benefit ratio. The net profit figure indicates how effective production is, and what results are really being registered by the products and services, both domestically and in the foreign markets in the area of socialist economic integration - especially the USSR - and in the non-socialist economic territory. The increase in profits is a matter of profit for socialism, which stands in objective association with the increase in the multiple products for society. This is for that portion of the national income which is available for socialist accumulation, the step-wise improvement of the material and cultural living standards of the people, and for insuring the defensive capacity to secure peace. That is why the combines and companies and their collectives are interested in attaining higher profits, insomuch as they increase production according to need and with good quality, reduce the costs and especially the material use, and increase the export effectiveness.

The use of the products and performance for the populace number for evaluation of (combine and company) performance serves the purpose of increasing the combines' and companies' contributions for consumer goods production and the completion of repair services on industrial consumer goods. It also helps to insure the production of desired products for the populace in sufficient numbers. Each combine has a large individual contribution to make towards development and production of highly effective consumer goods. This also applies to combines which primarily produce industrial goods. The targeted expansion of an effective consumer goods production, first of all for highly finished stylish products made from domestic raw materials, contributes toward improvement of the overall cost-benefit ratio and long-term growth.

The use of the export figure shows, in the combine and company performance evaluation, the great importance of handling the foreign trade tasks for the development of the East German national economy. Experience with use of the export figure in the performance evaluation shows that the combines' and companies' interest in increasing the production of salable goods for export to peak standards and with great effectiveness has been effectively raised. The product and customer-requested commercial sales activity of the combines and their foreign trade companies and firms are given high status. The deciding consideration is to act in the overall interest of the state. For example, as long as a given product item is not sold, it is not serving either

the combine or the national economy as a contribution towards the national income and for the consumption of the populace. Through export, a product's first economic contribution to the GDR is in the influx of hard currency. The export plan goals can only be truly considered fulfilled when the state plan goal for hard currency income is reached. Personal commitment, responsible action and partiality continually gain importance through this.

The combines' and companies' individual responsibility and economic interest will be further increased through the perfection of economic accounting in conjunction with the Plan. The relationship between planning and economic accounting is based first of all on their common objectives, so that planning and economic accounting interdependently and effectively contribute towards the implementation of the SED economic strategy. The definite improvement in the cost-benefit ratio is central. That is why the use of the categories of economic accounting, such as price, cost, profit, credit, interest and others are aimed at the basis of the Plan, which is to realize the national economic requirements in such a manner so that what is good for the national economy also brings economic advantages to the combines and companies. Good work should pay off. As previous experiences illustrate, combines and companies which act on the corresponding national economic requirements have economic advantages. The material interest of the combines and the companies and their collectives in regular earnings of profit and in profit growth via increased production of goods in demand, reduction in the cost of production, and improving export effectiveness was raised. A specified portion of profits in excess of the Plan can be transferred to the individual accounts, and can be used for further production intensification, improvement of working and living conditions, and bonuses. With the placement of foreign economic activities under the direction of the combine's complex reproduction processes, the functions of the economic accounting are also in effect for export activities and the achievement of favorable export sales and profits. The results of the socialist economic integration and other foreign economic relations are reflected in the categories of economic accounting, directly in the operating costs and sales as well as in profits. Whoever damages the national economic interests and does not attain the plan profit restricts the accumulation of their own funds. Excessive assets, for example, or failure to work machinery and equipment to specified capacity draws payment of additional production expenses to the state budget. Every effort, however, for the reduction of inventories of material, raw materials and partially fabricated goods, and their accelerated turnover, has a positive effect on the net profit in the economic accounting and in the performance evaluation of the combines and companies.

Agreement between material and financial planning is of decisive importance for an effective coherent application of planning and economic accounting. It insures internal agreement between the state's binding material and financial Plan coefficients. This is particularly important for the use of economically important energy, fuels, material and fabrication material resources. For this reason, the perfection of economic accounting is connected with an important qualification of the expenses work. One point of emphasis is the insuring of agreement of the expense planning with the state-dictated norms, budget percentages and contingencies for production expenses, so that money provides an even more effective pressure on the most economical use of national

economic resources for growth in production and the national income with absolutely less energy, raw material and material. Exact accounting with the expenses, with cost and benefits, and the computation of what brings profits and loss is an essential prerequisite for comprehensive intensification. Cost computations and cost analyses gain in importance. That which is sought after in steps of intensification through science and technology, reduction in the cost of production, increase in work productivity and renewing of production, is manifested in the increase of profits and the reduction in internal costs per M 100 of goods production. Cost reductions increase the social product surplus, the profit for socialism and the distributable end product. This connection is what mobilizes the ingenuity of the workers' collective to work with the available material and funds rationally, and to utilize scientific-technical advances more effectively for the growth of the national income.

The refinement of the economic accounting on the basis of the Plan also serves in this direction the obligation of each combine and company to transfer funds to the state account in every situation in the planned amount.

Tangible measures of value are of great significance for the perfection of the economic accounting in conjunction with the Plan. The measures in effect since 1984 for still more effective utilization of industry prices and agricultural prices are aimed at this. They reason that industry prices, which cover national economic expenses which must insure normal profitability, are the basic item required so that computations of cost and benefit in the combines and companies agree with the national economic computations. Industry prices which are based on socially necessary expenses are the base point for proper functioning of almost all data categories, above all the net production, costs and profits. The premium for social funds, which was introduced in 1984 for the combines and companies in East German industry and construction, comprise the basis of tangible measures of value for the living work, and the realistic reflection of expenses in the costs and prices. Its regular rate of 70 percent of the payroll and budgetary costs has raised the economic interest of the combines and companies in the increase in work productivity and socialist rationalization. This is in the interest of effective use of social work capacity and accelerates the application of work-saving technologies through socialist rationalization, automation, use of industry robots, and use of microelectronics.

Since the unity of planning and economic accounting organically ties the total social requirements with the economic interests of each collective down to the individual worker, the economic accounting quite definitely stimulates the insuring of the necessary economic growth rate out of inner sources of the GDR through ever more effective utilization of individual possibilities for economic evaluation of science and technology as a main source for higher effectiveness.

The comprehensive intensification directs the ever more effective form of the unity of planning and economic accounting towards a greater economical effectiveness of assets reproduction. In first place stands the need to make the available more effective, to utilize machinery and facilities over more time, and to bind investment with the modernization of the existing facilities which is the main form of assets reproduction. The further improvement of

management, planning, and economic accounting in the area of investments and assets reproduction according to economic effectiveness measures is directly tied to further economic accounting development. Finance, credit, depreciation and amortization, profit, interest, production funds duties (taxes), price scheduling for engineering, construction, equipping, and rationalization means and reassessing assets to create tangible measures of value are being employed in their working relationships. It all is aimed at the main task in the SED decisions to use investments and existing assets in close connection with the application of the newest scientific-technical advances in a comprehensive manner for intensively expanded reproduction. The most important tasks and measures are the following:

- In management and planning, every assignment for maintenance, rehabilitation and expansion of the existing assets has to be tied to the use of the newest scientific-technical advances. This includes overhauls and general repair work.
- The modernization of the existing assets in all areas and branches of the national economy demand the systematic creation of the economic conditions which are required. The combines which produce industrial equipment are to work out scientific-technical solutions for the modernization of machines and equipment which they supplied in the past, and they must provide the components necessary for that.
- All combines, including those which are not primarily involved in industrial production, are to expand their own rationalization supply system and to be scientific-technically so qualified that it becomes the first source for covering equipment needs of regularly scheduled investment plans.
- The centerpiece of the central investment planning remains the fixed-plan planning, preparation and implementation of the investments. At the same time, the introduction of fixed-plan budgeting over the entire activity timeframe for selected machines and facilities is to be secured.
- The role of national economic measurements of effectiveness in investment planning will grow significantly. They are minimum national economic requirements which will be used as the deciding criterion for acceptance of proposals in the Plan, and for their financing.
- With respect to engineering, its economic efficiency is to be increased, especially through the agreement of objectives in the planning between the buyer and the seller, as well as in billing.

The strong bond of science and technology in the cycle of intensively expanded reproduction in the East German combines makes it possible to interweave more closely the Plan and economic accounting in the field of science and technology. It is important that the economic results from science and technology are even more determinedly grasped and utilized more quickly. The attainable economy is decisive. State assignments and plan themes have proven themselves in solution of scientific-technical tasks, whereby the economic results and the use of the technology were achieved according to plan and budget.

There is a trend in the directives of the SED towards placing importance upon obligation ledgers and total economic accounting for each research and development task. The cost and benefit of scientific and technical work will thereby be closely tied with the combine's total economic cycle and the



economic accounting. This applies for all scientific-technical tasks for the development of new products, techniques and technologies. It enables economic results with clear economic goals for the obligatory help to become the starting point and goal of innovative collective activities in research and development. Creative spirit will be more strongly directed towards the development of such new products, techniques and technologies and their rapid transfer to the production line which will incorporate better performance characteristics, which will help set the most modern international standards as well as exceed them, which will be fabricated economically and secure high economic effectiveness. The international degree of development always sets the standard. Consideration of need, customer and user needs, market results and tendencies in development of scientific-technical advances acquires great weight in the combines.

The time factor makes decisions over the economy more than ever. A determining factor for the economy of scientific-technologic work is how long it takes to develop a new product, how quickly it can be moved to series production, how fast the technology can be transformed, how long the product lasts, and at what time a new product comes on the market. This is why concrete product planning and production revision have kept such a great importance. Actual increase in the useful value of the products, which can be purchased with good economic delivery, stands in the foreground. This is to be encouraged with the means of economic accounting in close unity with the Plan. This purpose is served by the preparation of the total economic accounting for each research and development project in the combines of the GDR, with which a preparation of a thorough project-related record for anticipated economic benefits and costs, as well as ones actually achieved, will be undertaken. This will cover the time from project initiation to its termination, to the product introduction year and the following year. This enables the research and development cost and benefit, on a national economic scale, to be relayed, analyzed, and to have an effect on management, planning, and economic analysis.

Through purchase and sale of scientific and economic results, the collectives in a combine's research and development facilities will be stimulated to meet and exceed the economic goals determined in the obligation ledgers. This is because high scientific-technical accomplishments result in immediate prizes and profits; pay bonuses tied to the project and corresponding premiums excite the collectives' material interest. This requires good innovative performance and always promotes the performance principle in research and development.

The determined measures for further improvement in management, planning and economic accounting have an increasingly positive effect and contribute to directing the innovative activities of the workers more strongly to the new requirements of the comprehensive intensification, and to get them to react flexibly to the development of needs domestically and abroad. A comprehensive expression for that is the strengthened orientation towards the effectiveness of the entire reproduction process and in particular towards its result, the national net product. Based on the proven principle of democratic centralism, the Plan sets standards for comprehensive utilization of the economic laws of socialism, and for the further improvement in state management. The achieved results in improvement of the cost-benefit ratio will be thoroughly analyzed,

in order to make determinations of how to more effectively translate the measures, and how to implement them in the future. They are an important basis for the preparation for the Eleventh SED Party Congress, which will draw advice from the directive for generation of the Five Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the GDR in the years 1986-1990.

In the conference of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with the SED County directorate's First Secretaries, Erich Honecker pointedly noted that "considerations and planning are directed towards questions of perspective of our future paths." It is necessary "to closely examine the mode of operation of objective laws corresponding to historic conditions and the results of practical politics, and to strike the correct decisions quickly enough concerning the further shape of the developed socialist society, in which the central state management and the innovative initiative of the people have decisive significance." (Footnote 9) ("Advisory Conference of the Secretariat of the SED with the First Secretaries of the County Directorates", "Neues Deutschland" from February 2/3, 1985 p 2)

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# PROGRESSIVE WAGES SUGGESTED INSTEAD OF VGM'S

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 13 Feb 86 pp 3-4

[Article by Adam Angyal and Eva Farkas: "Debate: Progressive Wage Scale Instead of VGM'S"]

[Text] The Ganz Danubius enterprise pays workers 28-35 forints an hour during the regular work day, and with overtime and other supplements, their pay increases to 40-45 forints an hour. What is the situation when outside sources of labor are employed? The use of foreign labor is the most expensive. In this case, the average cost per hour is 250 forints. The use of domestic sources of labor is comparatively cheaper (for example, employing agricultural cooperative workers costs 130-170 forints an hour). The vgm's [enterprise workers' business partnerships] are the cheapest; these small enterprises "only" ask for 120-140 forints an hour.

Last year Ganz Danubius paid 600 million in wages, and a further 200 million forints to vgm members. The wage costs [of the enterprise] are increased by the 40% social security contribution, the 10% wage tax, and the 18.6% income tax. The latter two taxes must be paid from the incentive fund, so if we calculate them in terms of expenses--and if we take into account that starting in 1986 a 55% (40 + 15%) tax is levied on the enterprise's profits--then every 100 forints spent by the enterprise on wages actually costs the enterprise 203.50 forints on the average. (This is without mentioning the workers' retirement contribution, which is almost 10%, so that for each 100 forints paid in wages the state budget gets a further 10 forints.)

Therefore, the 600 forints Ganz Danubius pays in wages mean the expenditure of 540 forints of purchasing power, at the same time that the state budget receipts are 472 forints; that is, for each 100 forints of purchasing power that are expended, the state budget gets 87.40 forints in receipts.

Let us now examine this in the case of vgm's. The 200 million forints that are paid to them are taxed at 10%, so that the total outlay is 220 million forints. Of this, the vgm's spend about 60 million on taxes and they spend a further 30 million on operating costs, so that in terms of purchasing power 110 million forints are expended. At the same time, the state budget receives



80 million forints (60 + 20), which means that in this case for 100 forints of purchasing power the state budget gets 72.70 forints in receipts, which is about 20% less than we cited for wage costs.

#### What is more advantageous for whom?

By comparing wages with the costs associated with vgm's, it can thus be determined that for the state budget it is more advantageous if the enterprise increases its wage expenditures, because in this way the state gets more income. This is the question: how would it affect the enterprises, the workers, and of course the state budget, if the vgm's were paid out of the regular wage expenditures?

First, let us look at the interests of the enterprise. It is a matter of simple calculation to determine that the 200 million forint vgm costs are balanced by 108 million forints in additional wages; that is, the 600 million forint wages can be increased by this much, and the enterprise is neither in a more advantageous position or a less advantageous position than before. However, it must be admitted that this is based on the assumption that production during the regular working day and in the vgm time is equal, which is not completely a valid assumption on the basis of practical experience. In numerical terms, then, does it matter to the enterprise whether it pays for extra production from wages or from other expenses? However, this is not exactly the situation if we examine the picture and assessment that has been formed of the enterprise, for when the financial burden falls on the wages the [financial] results attained by the enterprise increase, since the wages are a considerably smaller sum. Documenting this is important for every manager. (It is another question, that the income derived from supplementary results is already spent by the enterprise the moment the decision is made; after all, it has to cover its profits as well supplementary wage taxes from that sum. Or it is possible that the effectiveness of the enterprise's management has improved, but the incentive fund has not changed.)

Let us examine the same thing from the point of view of the workers. For them, the only acceptable thing would be if, after the possible cessation of vgm's, they will still have access to supplementary income, that is, to the 110 million forints mentioned above. From the preceding it is clear that the enterprise's capabilities only extend to 108 forints, which, however, is actually only 97 million forints since in this case it would be treated as wage costs and therefore would be subject to the pension contribution. The difference cannot cause tension great enough to impede the spirit of enterprise, especially if--as we will point out later--the enterprises can share in the additional income acquired in this way by the state budget.

#### Closing the "Loophole"

How would the change affect the development of state income? If the vgm's ceased, the budget would lose 80 million in income; on the other hand, taxes totaling 85 million forints according to our calculations could be imposed on 108 million forints in supplementary wages. Additional state budget income is represented by the tax (55%) derived from the plus profit acquired through cost reduction, which is more than 37 million forints. Consequently, if the

enterprise decides (or could decide) to pay its small entrepreneurial groups from wages, the budget would gain not inconsiderable plus income. The numbers prove that enterprise and individual interests are in this case not contradictory, and do not harm the interests of the people's economy. And it is not just a matter of financial considerations, but also a question of the devaluation of regular working time and the holding back of production. (See our article, entitled "Neither with us, nor without us" on page 3 of our journal.) Enterprise managers can alleviate these unfavorable effects through authoritative directives and other means based on considerations of interest, but according to our experience, the strongest interest within the enterprise is the interest of the vgm.

We also have to mention one other source--one that can be considered grave--of tension: the situation of those immediately in charge of directing production. As a result of the functioning of vgm's, this layer found itself in a very sensitive situation, mainly because of the conduct of vgm members during the regular working day. The termination of this undesirable situation--precisely in the interest of restoring the respect due to the technical supervisors--is an increasingly urgent task. And examining the question from the point of view of the state budget, it is also not a matter of indifference that with the termination of vgm's and the financing of working groups with wages, the purchasing power is more controllable.

Thus it seems that it would be advantageous to everyone--or at least it would not be more disadvantageous--if it would be possible to pay these small entrepreneurial groups from wage expenditures. However, there is one more question that has to be clarified: how would it be possible to achieve a situation in which the enterprise could, for a certain amount in expenditures, get a corresponding level of production from its workers? We are assuming here that vgm's function only in work places where wages are determined on the basis of production (which of course is not true, but the logic of our calculation is based on employment paid with wages geared to production.)

We have already mentioned that the starting hourly wage (basic wage) of physical workers is 28-30 forints, which can go up to 40-45 forints with various supplements. Our point of departure is the assumption that instead of paying the vgm's, we want to pay 108 million forints in wages, and for this we should get the same amount of production that we get from the vgm's. Yes but, if the vgm's ask for 120 forints per hour, behind the 200 million forints' worth of work, there are 1,400,000 standard hours. Thus, this means that through the wage system we can also expect 1,400,000 more hours of production, but only if the income gotten for this is the same or comes close to the taxed income gotten for one standard vgm hour. In our opinion, this problem would be solved to a great extent--even if not completely--if the enterprise could share in the increased income the state budget gets [from the taxes, not applicable to vgm earnings, imposed on regular wages]. In this case it would be possible to create the margin from which the workers' mentioned income level could be maintained, of course along with the demand for increased production.

On the basis of this, it would therefore be rational conduct on the part of the enterprise if we would pay for the achievements of the vgm's within the

limits of the wage system. Nevertheless, this is not the practice. The "income ceiling" and the surplus earnings tax are factors that ultimately result in a situation in which, even when there is a surplus in earnings, it is not possible to pay the surplus wages that we calculated, because the "penalizing" tax thus created is so great that the cost of paying the wage is higher than paying the vgm. No brakes exist to control increases in the latter; at most, the sensitivity of the enterprises to spending too much can set an upper limit, but under the present circumstances, in which the economy is based on perpetual shortages, this can not be considered an adequate guarantee. We point out that as a result of the close relationship between scarcity and inflation, in some cases price increases balance (can balance) cost increases without any corresponding increases in productivity.

#### It could be otherwise

Nevertheless, it would still be possible to solve this problem by relying on the enterprise wage system and exploiting possibilities offered by progressive incentives, while forcing an increase in productivity and simultaneously dismantling barriers to increases in income.

#### Some Principal Data for Ganz Danubius (in forints)

	100 Ft paid from wage costs	100 Ft paid from vgm charges	Recommendation: progressive wage of 100 ft paid from wage costs
Individual income (purchasing power)	90	60	90
Enterprise's expenses	140	110	140
Items paid from profit (cost level)	63.5	-	63.5
State budget's income	78.7	40.0	67.7
Income paid for one standard hour	45	60	50-60

In the case of Ganz Danubius we employ two different wage systems, and our experiences are favorable. The first is for places of work that operate on the traditional system where the wage depends on productivity. Its essence is that after satisfying predetermined production quotas, the worker, the group, or the factory is paid at double the individual rate for every regular working hour. The advantage of this system is that workers do not have to wring plus hour supplements out of extended work time, but by increasing their production during the regular working day, can earn progressively higher wages. Naturally, with this system must go the guarantee that norms cannot be based on this increased production.

Another, and even better method, is progressive wages based on piecework. If the workers' production goes above the previously determined level, then they will be paid more piecework wages than the previously determined amount. (For example, we used this method in the manufacture of containers in the following way: after the first ten containers made on a shift, the work team got 2000 forints for assembling one additional container. For the eleventh container 2500 forints is paid, and for the fifteenth the workers can share 3000 forints. This system does not threaten the establishment of norms. It is

characteristic of both wage systems, that they become an incentive mechanism only beyond a previously determined level of production. In the outlined progressive systems, the plus income paid for plus work is basically the same as the amount paid for vgm work.

Thus, this would be the solution: to increase production through progressive wage systems, within the framework of the existing wage system and within regular work hours, financing the cost with money spent on the vgm scheme. The method can be used on the condition that the enterprise institutes progressive wage systems, and in this way demonstrably increases the achievements that are possible during regular working hours. The progressive wage system must conform to the general system of income regulation, and is based on the reapportionment of the financial resources that have been used for vgm's.

In the income regulating process, the enterprise wages used to pay progressive wages should not be taken into account in determining the upper limits. The state could assume a part of the burden of financing the progressive wage systems, using the income derived as a consequence of the suppression of the vgm's (see above).

We are convinced that if these conditions were met, we would achieve a systematic means of increasing production that would be less expensive than the present system and would be reassuringly effective from everyone's point of view.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

# MODIFIED, SUPPLEMENTARY ROLE URGED FOR VGM'S

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 20 Feb 86 p 6

[Article by Gyorgy Rak: "Debate about the VGM's: Instead of or In Addition To"]

[Text] On first reading, Adam Angyal and Eva Farkas's analysis almost convinced me that with some "budgetary sacrifice" it would be possible to solve two problems: increasing the productivity of work done during regular work hours (thus decreasing the discrepancy between earnings during the regular work time and vgm incomes), as well as terminating activities--which are actually closely connected to the enterprise--that, either because of necessity or because it seems to be in its own own interest, the enterprise depends on the vgm's to accomplish. Thinking it over thoroughly, however, I feel that the real solution still has not been found.

The authors simplify the problem by limiting it to those vgm's whose members, paying their own taxes, do work that it would otherwise be possible to do during regular work time. Because of this, the logical train of thought cannot be applied to those vgm's which work on the basis of outside orders, since doing this work during regular work time would not be in the interest of the enterprise. In addition, Adam Angyal and Eva Farkas's calculations were based on the earning-rate regulations (though they do not mention this in their article). The recommended solution would require a different "calculation" and a different "state budget sacrifice" in terms of income growth and central income regulation, because these regulate income growth with a strongly progressive tax based on comparison with the previous year.

As the authors' calculations show, regulation of income levels has created the possibility that wages that correspond to production can be paid during regular working hours. In the order of magnitude, the sum can be as great as in the vgm sphere. The difference that is cited in the example cannot be considered general; it is only valid in terms of the given quantities. In actuality, it can be more and it can be less, depending on how much the actual hourly earnings are and how much the enterprise pays the vgm. Although they continue to exist under other forms of income regulation, the loopholes afforded by vgm orders are becoming ever less necessary in enterprises that employ income-level regulation. How necessary it is, is determined on the basis of calculations. On the basis of calculations carried out within the

limitations imposed by the wage-level regulations, it used to be obviously in the interest of the enterprises-- because it meant considerable advantages--to compensate with vgm orders for low productivity or for the "production scarcity" resulting from a shortage of workers. It is perhaps no exaggeration to maintain that the enterprises own interests motivated the rapid spread of production vgm's employing only those who worked in the enterprise during the regular work hours; these vgm's were much more the undertakings of the enterprises than of the workers. (Proof of this is that lately one of the "advertising tricks" used by enterprise job advertisements has been to promise the possibility of vgm work.)

In enterprises that employ earnings-level regulation, due to the changed interests of the enterprises it is becoming more and more noticeable that in fact the vgm is a burden, because the advantages it affords are no longer great enough to justify accepting the tensions that arise from it. At the same time, we would have to count on new tensions if the enterprise stopped ordering from a vgm that it had started, and this would be the case even if these activities could be carried on during regular working hours for higher pay. Probably this accounts for the recommendation in the article that the problem of terminating (a step justified by the assertion that the common interest and the interest of the enterprise are identical) vgm's that were created by the enterprise should be solved by "authoritative" regulations. Further, it would be done in such a way that not only would the [central] authority relieve the enterprise of the responsibility for the decision, but it would also reduce, with hidden support from the state budget, the increased wage burden [on the enterprise] resulting from the change. Those enterprises, which instead of employing vgm's have been compensating for their shortage of labor with internal incentives, would not get this benefit, for in their case there is no reason to give them this "credit."

In actuality, the possibilities of doing during regular work hours the work the vgm's have been doing are not unlimited, since a new five-fold tax applies to more than a 10% increase in income. Thus, income increases greater than this, which go with increases in production, are not encouraged by the regulations; that is, under the regulations it is not possible, as the given example tries to suggest, to pay from year to year for large-scale vgm production during regular work hours. However, the regulations do not exclude the possibility that, taking into account the 10% limit, production accomplished during regular work hours might gradually replace vgm production. It is also a matter of speculation how many years it would take to bring this about, and at what rate. (At the same time, it is not unimaginable that there will be some enterprises which, because of the 10% limit, will now for the first time consider the establishment of vgm's to be in their interest.)

The other, supplementary element of the income regulation--the indicator requiring that the ratio of added value and total income remain unchanged--is not an obstacle to the above, because production in the vgm is better than production during regular work hours and therefore vgm production does not spoil the indicators.

Naturally, it is not an easy task to develop a system of internal incentives that would make it possible to achieve production which equals that of the vgm. It depends on many factors (for example, organization and technology); it requires appropriate preparation and well thought-out organizational work on the part of the enterprise. In specific cases, the progressive wages recommended in the article may be appropriate. However, more similar to the earlier "order-oriented" relationship that was characteristic of vgm's would be the payment of group wages (for example, payment of wages in a lump sum), which compensates the group for accomplishment of the given task without regard for how much time was spent on it, and leaves it up to the collective to distribute the money within the group. Naturally, it would not be useful to proclaim that either approach is the "only saving solution."

The true solution can be provided only by a complex modernization of the enterprise's managerial, interest, and organizational system, which would not only try to solve the problem of providing workers with incentives, but would also improve conditions in terms of organized and disciplined work (for example, the provision of materials, clear-cut determination of tasks, internal individual accountability, etc.) Giving better material recognition for work done during regular working hours has to be based on the supposition that internal sources of losses will be done away with. For this, regulation of the income level creates more favorable conditions, because for one thing 40% of any saving in costs can be used to pay the taxes that are imposed on incomes. For another thing, in the case of workers who leave, the earnings tax that previously had to be calculated and paid on an individual basis can be used in its entirety to increase the income of the other workers, which serves as an incentive.

If from the point of view of developing the economical functioning of the enterprise there is no longer any need of the vgm's work, this does not mean that the vgm has to cease automatically. It is in this case that the situation that we suggested at the beginning would develop, in which the vgm would turn into the kind of entrepreneurial group which, after working with full force during regular hours, would put in additional hours doing work for other economic units or for the general population which cannot be done, or cannot be done effectively, by the large enterprise. At the same time, when it is necessary to accomplish an unexpected task that cannot be completed during the regular working day, the vgm can step in to fill the role of the production reserves, which will cease to function.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

# GIVING VGM'S ROLE DURING REGULAR WORKING DAY SUGGESTED

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 6 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Dr. Otto Purityi: "Debate: Progressive Wages Instead of the VGM's-- Is the Process Reversible?"]

[Text] The enterprise workers' business partnership thrust itself into our lives with elemental force. It didn't have to be encouraged or forced--it spread by itself. We did try to apply the brakes, for who knew what would come of it? There must have been some kind of paralyzing dullness in our system of incentives, from the strangling effects of which we tried to escape. Some extremely unimaginative force must have oppressed us before, which explains why this new form appealed to our imagination so much.

But now, among those who oppose the vgm's, there are economic specialists and enterprise managers. What bothers them is not that so much money goes to the vgm's from "soft forints," but that they wonder why this money couldn't be used to pay wages. And here they are on the same wave length as all those who want--and rightly so--to restore the value of the regular working day. Everyone must thoroughly think through the recommendations of Adam Angyal and Eva Farkas (FIGYELO, 1986/7). They should think them through without rejecting them or without contradicting the ideas, but rather taking them seriously and developing them further.

Only income regulations prevent making the pay of the vgm's a regular wage. (For example, we could have a linear wage tax system: if one forint had to be paid in taxes for every forint in wages, the problem would already be solved.) With good work and plant organization, with good material and labor supplies, with good machinery, instruments, and materials, it would be possible to achieve much more even during regular working hours than we do today. The logical order of course requires that the conditions be created, and then afterwards the income regulations can be changed. It can't be done the other way around. The plus production achieved during regular working hours would compensate to a great degree for the partnership's production...

Yes but, the linear wage tax would bring with it "black-market overtime" in the old sense, when the workers did not "work overtime" but rather simply



"worked longer." Their production was credited to the regular eight-hour workday. This way it was possible to save the overtime supplement, and it was not necessary to get permission for overtime. We older people remember how it was. Compared to this, the vgm is more honest. Even a decade ago it was common that at the end of the working day work brigades strolled over to the factory across the way, because there was no money for overtime, but there was money to pay workers who were borrowed from elsewhere. Compared to this, the vgm is more honest and more honorable.

Many people are of the opinion that with the termination of vgm's, that is, with work teams getting their pay from wages, it will be easier to control purchasing power. This is true to the extent that the statistics record precisely the entire amount of work income. But the KSH could easily solve this problem even under the present circumstances. The only thing is that it is not purchasing power that the state has to keep under control, but rather the rate of commodity supply and purchasing power accretion, that is, the proportional relationship between these two factors. It is necessary to control the proportion between the cost of labor and the value of new products. And the vgm is much more suited to this, than connecting production and wages during the regular working hours.

The vgm--if this is not deceptive--puts into practice the principle of apportioning [pay] according to the work done, and--starting with its characteristic of saving on costs--serves well the principle of decreasing costs and increasing productivity. It raises the average pay for one person and for one hour without at the same time raising the proportional wage or the cost level. The vgm reduces work peaks, opens up bottlenecks, and increases the utilization of expensive facilities. If the enterprise is at all regular in making contracts with the vgm, the vgm can't get pay that is not regularly accounted for.

However, plenty of wages that are not regularly accounted for filter through, not just in those enterprises that operate in the red, but also in those that are in the black. A person who achieves less than what is expected does not get paid proportionately less; a person who only works during half the day gets full pay anyway. It is no wonder then that the state taxes wages heavily above a certain limit, and that in this sense wage costs exceed vgm costs.

Up to now, we have not achieved much by regarding income regulation as a means of regulating purchasing power. We should experiment to see if income regulation would be able to indirectly fill the function of creating a balance by increasing the new value accruing to unit wages. However, this can only achieve results in conjunction with another attempt: an attempt must be made to increase the income of the state budget while decreasing taxes and tax rates. This would give the enterprise and its partners a chance to get some air. We have to give up the implicit principle that as the opportunities of the national economy to acquire income become more restricted, the income-acquiring possibilities of enterprises, cooperatives, cottage industries, and workers must be restricted in equal measure. This perfect logic--formally speaking--results in restricting precisely that which should be expanded: the sources. For in fact, only the enterprises can move the national economy out of its difficult situation.

It is true that the state budget gets more income on the basis of unit purchasing power derived from wage costs than it gets on the basis of unit purchasing power derived from vgm earnings. But this is just the beginning of the calculation. It is also necessary to take into consideration that

--unit wages mean higher costs in terms of the workers' needs (work clothing, protective clothing, subsidies for workers' food at the plant, living accommodations, worker transportation, changing rooms, washrooms, etc.;

--in the large factories the normative lucrativeness of unit wages (for example, 100 forints in wages would result in approximately 200 forints in pure income) cannot be guaranteed, but in the case of vgm's it can be;

--wages are included in the retirement base, but payments to the vgm are not; thus if those who have not reached retirement age work in the vgm, it means pure profit for the state;

--payments to the vgm are not counted in sickness benefits, which again means pure profit for the state;

--in the case of piecework, the basic vgm pay is not higher than during regular working hours, but the enterprise saves on overtime supplements.

It is a fact that the vgm payment--calculated per hour--is high. But it is not too high. And the point is that it is high not to the detriment of the enterprise's profit, but to its benefit.

Just as we made "expenses" from "wages," we should now make "wages" from "expenses." This is a smart thought. As it turns out, vgm payments can go under overhead--so why couldn't wages and wage supplements go into the same category? At the beginning of the vgm era--when it became clear that these partnerships don't work for the "outside" but for the inside--malicious joy filled our souls: the "office" had scored a goal against its own team. It could no longer say that earnings regulation that was integrated into cost management was an impossibility. Now even in the large industrial factories there is way that a part of what is saved can be used for wages, for raising wages.

Is the process reversible? Only if more and more small entrepreneurial groups, small work teams, and independently responsible units come into existence within the enterprise and within the official working day. This solution is spreading in Chinese and Soviet enterprises and cooperatives as well. One condition is necessary for it: the state has to make the kind of "wage payments" to the enterprise that make it possible for the enterprise to pay its work teams and workers at a level that is proportional to what they produce. If we can have a contract system in commerce and the tourist industry, why couldn't the same apply to industrial enterprises as well?

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC PROBLEM, ASSISTANCE DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 86 pp 9-12

[Article by Ivo Jakovijevic: "Between the North and the South Today: Yugoslavia is one of those Rare Regions within whose Small Area there are such Differences in Development"]

[Text] In the wake of the package of three laws that regulate Yugoslavia's economic relations with foreign countries, the most violent and painful debate in the Yugoslav Assembly was provoked by the package of four laws for encouraging the faster development of the less developed republics and the province of Kosovo in the next five years. Ever since the Federal Executive Council in the middle of last summer sent to the Assembly its views on "the rules of the game" for a more harmonious regional development in Yugoslavia until 1990, the coordinating process among the republic and province delegations took a full five months, with periodic time outs and numerous uncertainties.

If the more developed part of Yugoslavia's economy, the part which, regardless of its location is the one that trades most of the social product abroad, was most interested in the so-called foreign exchange system, it is understandable why the package of laws for the underdeveloped was of especially pronounced interest to the underdeveloped.

Today, Yugoslavia is probably one of the rare regions within whose not so large area there are such economic and regional differences. It would be difficult to force all of them into a simplified formula of a kind of Yugoslav North-South framework, and, on that basis, posit profound differences in regard to the mechanisms of unity belonging to a joint Yugoslav economic area. It would be even more difficult, however, to overlook the fact that Slovenia is side by side with the developed countries of Central Europe, while Kosovo, for example, reminds one in many ways of a typical economically underdeveloped area, with all the controversies, successes, and delusions that belong there; an application of world-wide criteria would also mark Kosovo as an underdeveloped area. It would also be difficult to assess the added fact that in each of our developed republics --Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia--there are almost equally underdeveloped opstinas or even broader areas, such as those that can be seen in the least developed parts of Yugoslavia; these are a kind of reverse side of the coin,

which means that the underdeveloped areas too have their pockets of development and occasionally even unavoidable luxury, as well as economic successes that can compare with those in areas that are providing economic assistance.

#### Criticisms, Messages, and Apparitions

From the earliest days of the socialist building of the country, Yugoslavia has been conducting its policies for regional development in various ways; these policies were institutionalized at the time of the first economic reform in 1965, through the establishment of the Federation Fund for Encouraging a Faster Development of the less developed republics and the province of Kosovo. At the same time, similar funds were formed in each of our republics. From 1966 to 1985, approximately 1500 billion dinars, in 1984 prices, were channeled into the less developed republics and Kosovo; one third of this went to Kosovo and the remainder, according to calculated needs, to Bosnia and Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Initially, all the money was sent through the Federation Fund, with the intention that later the resources would be joined together. Consequently, the formula of 20:80 was established, followed by 50:50, and in the next five-year period 60 percent of the funds for the underdeveloped areas should be handled through the Federal Fund. Of course, these were not the only funds received by the underdeveloped areas; one should add to them additional resources from the Federation Budget, various types of tariff and foreign currency relief measures, rescheduling of internal debts, conversions, write-offs, etc.

The initial consequence of the multi-year policies for the faster development of the less developed republics and Kosovo was the profound change in their economic structures. Industrialization, as a general economic trend, took hold in these areas perhaps before they were ready for it, and so, along with profound structural changes, there was also a lack of the expected efficiency in investment projects and accompanying business activities. Of course, the most important aspect of the faster development of the underdeveloped areas took place in the background of the investment projects in the economy, in the area of the formation and expansion of a network of secondary school and university institutions, with the formation of a cadre that could lead the economic and social development of these areas.

In the economic area, Bosnia and Hercegovina was perhaps the most successful in handling all the controversies and coordinating all the maneuvers associated with accelerated development; to be sure, Bosnia and Hercegovina initially aimed mostly for heavy industry (and for that reason was unable to employ all the surplus labor force); on the other hand, Macedonia was least successful in this, especially in the last 10 years, as was Montenegro. As far as Kosovo is concerned many and even contradictory conclusions can be drawn, depending on the methodology employed.

Today, critiquing the model for the encouragement of faster development of the underdeveloped areas in Yugoslavia is an unclear undertaking. Only 20 years ago when, at the height of economic reform and reaffirmation of economic laws, profound differences were noted among the areas in Yugoslavia

and joint interest was voiced in gradually diminishing them, one counted on financial assistance from the Federation Fund as an additional source of funds for new, profitable capital projects in underdeveloped parts of Yugoslavia.

This reform lasted for a relatively short time, however, and afterwards for quite a few years our economic and developmental policies did not sufficiently take into account market criteria in conducting business or building capital projects so that an etatist and therefore inflationary method of conducting business and finance played a key role in dividing Yugoslavia's economy, whose unity had been constitutionally established. For this reason, 15 or so years ago, labor and resources were associated only symbolically. Everybody invested funds mostly in his own back yard, frequently against normal economic common sense.

Consequently, the underdeveloped areas created a kind of cult from the resources "available through the fund." Furthermore they avoided joint projects, opposed demands to discuss the profitability and efficacy of the ways in which the funds were invested and criticisms of the so-called megalomaniac and unproductive capital projects, etc.

#### A Broad Definition

For this reason, the fact that today 40 percent of the Yugoslav economic area, inhabited by a third of the population, needs additional supplementary funds for development is perhaps a kind of caricature. Is it not true that the reason that so much assistance has failed to give expected results lies in such a broad definition of underdevelopment and consequent fragmentation? There are certain very precise statistics according to which the regional differences in Yugoslavia today, 20 years after the establishment of the fund, are even greater, either because of differences in the growth of population, differences in levels of skill, or differences in the efficacy, structure and purpose of investments. It should also be noted that Yugoslavia is one of the rare countries which largely disregard the possible effects of population policies and which at the same time lack, except for formulas for setting aside assistance for the underdeveloped areas, policies on differences in birth rates which Yugoslavia are the same as those world wide; this is in spite of the fact that Yugoslav plans explicitly to call for a harmonious development of all the areas.

At the latest Assembly debate on criteria for establishing underdevelopment there were still a number of controversies, among which we would like to single out the developed areas demand that the extent of underdevelopment should be established by the worth of basic resources in the economy, where even Kosovo does well, while the underdeveloped areas proposed that the criterion should be the product of production facilities, which is something that only the developed areas can boast of. Or, to put it more exactly, nobody wanted to admit to success in past work, advocated as the criterium for (under)development by the other side. At the same time, the underdeveloped areas were very vocal advocates of the idea to strengthen the joint Yugoslav market and economic areas, when it was a matter of the foreign

exchange system, import regulations, and the method for repaying Yugoslavia's earlier foreign exchange debts. During the debate on ways to encourage their own faster development, they were very insistent on increasing the Federation Fund's resources and also on an internal rescheduling of debts as well as on a more certain model for distributing salaries, forgetting that the mechanisms of the unified market were the primary ones and applicable on the whole, and not on a case-by-case basis.

Perhaps there would not be any of these caricatures, controversies, and lengthy coordination processes, especially in the long December evenings under the domes of the Yugoslav Assembly, and perhaps everything would go more easily if at the same time the entire Yugoslav economy were not both at a crossroads and penniless. For this reason, the entire process of coordination among the republic and province delegations, not only in regard to the recently adopted foreign exchange law, the law on the banking system, the package for the underdeveloped areas, but also the resolution for 1986 and the entire five-year plan for up to 1990 have in general been reduced to a frantic race among fragmented economic-political interests for the difficult to estimate, but certainly modest domestic funds that will be available in the next few years. If, as the new five-year plan notes, the way out of the crisis in which Yugoslavia has found itself in the past few years is to be found only in financial consolidation, improved financial condition or else the liquidation of the current losses, the new investments that would strengthen our general export capability and make possible the fastest possible joining of the information revolution and the profound technological changes in the world, it becomes clear why suddenly there are so many underdeveloped areas and so few that can help them.

How Much Has Been Set Aside for the Underdeveloped In Yugoslavia in billion dinars according to 1984 prices

Underdeveloped republics and Kosovo	1966-70	1970-75	1976-80	1981-84
Total	237	319	474	327
Bosnia and Hercegovina	73	104	145	91
Montenegro	31	36	51	30
Macedonia	62	73	102	66
Kosovo	71	106	176	140

What was the most controversial issue in the Assembly's debate, which ended late in the evening on a December Saturday, three days before the year's end?

At the very beginning, the developed republics, and especially Croatia, had objections regarding the package of laws for the underdeveloped areas, and they favored narrowing down the number of those that are underdeveloped. These republics felt that it would be better to take the same amount of funds and direct them to Kosovo, and the rest to the three republics that currently

have the status of underdeveloped areas, and have them acquire a "transitional status," which would entitle them to fewer assistance funds. These objections coincided, to a certain extent, with a later proposal by the federal government that, as far as the status is concerned everything should stay as is but that Kosovo, as an especially underdeveloped area, should be provided with a greater portion of funds from the Federation Fund. Later, however, the most recent evaluations of the real economic situation in Yugoslavia, and especially in each of the underdeveloped areas, greatly complicated the coordination of the positions of the republics and provinces in the Yugoslav Assembly. It turned out that both Macedonia and Montenegro, because of their exceptionally difficult position caused by failed investments in previous years and current dinar and foreign exchange illiquidity, would barely be able to post a zero growth rate, while Kosovo still needed additional assistance. The least developed part of Serbia proper (over 50 opstinas), which has lagged behind in development, in some instances almost as much as Kosovo proper, joined this circle of interest.

The Federal Executive Council has presented the latest round of coordination with the firm evaluation that 1.56 percent of the value of social product should be set aside for underdeveloped areas; the developed felt this was too much, and the underdeveloped felt it was not enough. For that reason, the delegation from Serbia especially insisted on halving the rate, but it gave up on this at the end of the Assembly session because it acknowledged the expected economic policy measures for halting the relative falling behind of the least developed part of Serbia without the provinces.

And so, at the end of the December sessions the Council of the Republics and Provinces adopted the last of the four laws for encouraging the faster development of the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo until the year 1990; according to this law, during the upcoming five-year period 1.56 percent of the social product will be set aside as credits for the development of the underdeveloped areas. Forty percent will be through the Federation Fund, and 60 percent through direct association of labor and resources. Of the total resources, Kosovo can expect 48.1 percent, Bosnia and Hercegovina 25.2 percent, Macedonia 17.8 percent, and Montenegro 8.9 percent. For the financing of social activities in these areas, an additional 0.53 percent of the social product will be set aside to be invested mostly in Kosovo. If right now it were possible to bet one's life on this and accept as gospel truth everything that is written in the new five-year development plan for Yugoslavia, it could indeed happen that, for the first time since the liberation, regional differences in development among the republics and regions will diminish.

At least several questions, however, remain open: Will this positive new trend cause Yugoslavia to join the new technological changes that are taking place in the world around us, will the financial consolidation of the economy and the banks be implemented as envisioned in the thick documents of the federal government, and will the joint Yugoslav market and our export capability, with all the elements of internal selection and external competition, become stronger by 1990, primarily through the affirmation of economic laws? Or will the logic of constant redistribution and socialization of past accounts overpower the interests and opportunities for a joint development in the already more and more complex international economic and political relations?



[Boxed item p 10] Underdevelopment in Developed Areas

Croatia: Lack of Motivation

[Article by M.S.]

In accordance with the law on economically underdeveloped parts of Croatia for the 1981-1985 period, 24 opstinas achieved the status of underdeveloped opstinas, and the Bukovice area the status of the least developed economically in the republic. In accordance with the Social Agreement on Regional Development, the following opstinas achieved the status of intermediate opstinas (they reached a level of development between the 55th and 65th percentile of the republic average): Biograd, Djurdjevac, Knin, Nasice, Pregrada, and Zlatar-Bistrica. Opstinas having a level of development between the 65th and 70th percentile also became entitled to utilize measures for encouraging [the economy]. The following opstinas fell into this category: Cakovec, Daruvar, Donji Miholjac, Donja Stubica, Duga Resa, Klanjec, Ludbreg, Nova Gradiska, Slavonska Pozega, Vrbovec, and Zelina.

In the past 16 years, i.e. during the last four medium-term plan periods, 85 opstinas utilized funds for underdeveloped areas. In this medium-term period, the intent was to set aside funds amount to 0.5 percent of the economy's social product, of which organizations of associated labor were to directly secure credits amounting to 0.42 percent of the social product through association, association through the fund, or a combination of the two, while unreturnable funds amounting to 0.08 percent of the social product are to be secured through the budget of Croatia. Some of the above measures have not been implemented because of current economic trends. The basic banks were to ensure, through a special agreement, at least 1 percent of the net credit capability of the funds intended for social renewal of production capability that are in the banks, under favorable terms. In addition to the above measures, in this period there was an attempt to encourage food production in mountainous areas, the creation of meat reserves in live livestock, a fuller utilization of developmental resources, and creating more stable conditions for the development of the islands, and especially island opstinas that have a specific border status.

The link between incomes that has been achieved in the economy of the developed parts of the republic has an influence on the development of links between incomes and the development of the underdeveloped areas of Croatia. Because of the unresolved conflicts between the interests of business and area associations local interests (in the broader sense of the word) are dominant, and this has led to a lack of a joint plan for a development program, and to a lack of motivation and unclear reasons for association. Because of these differences and an exaggerated normative aspect of association, along with a failure to adhere to agreements without suffering consequences, it is simpler for an organization of associated labor to pay the appropriate amount to the Republic Fund rather than to become involved in investments, in which case it is necessary to set aside funds into a special account ahead of time. The irrelevance of the measures for encouraging development is probably a consequence of the fact that the foundations for such conduct of business and investing were laid during the last planning period.

[Boxed item, p 10]

Slovenia: Insufficient Interest

[Article by S.P.]

In Slovenia, six opstinas have the status of underdeveloped areas, four opstinas had this status only during the transitional period comprising the first three years of this medium-term period, while as a separate matter nine geographic and border areas are considered underdeveloped. Evaluations made at the end of the current five-year period regarding the progress of the underdeveloped areas are not most favorable. The results indicate that in the current five-year period the development of the underdeveloped areas was slower than in the seventies. The reason for this has been ascribed to narrower financial capabilities of the economy and the insufficiently effective measures for encouraging the development of the underdeveloped areas. The growth of the nominal social product in underdeveloped opstinas was above the republic average only in 1981 and 1983.

Employment was more intensive than the growth of social product, and in certain years it was even twice the republic average, which is 1 percent. In spite of this, the underdeveloped areas are still characterized by a high rate of unemployment, around 5 percent, while the Slovene average is three times lower. The worst situation is in Ormoz, where an unemployment rate of 9.8 percent in 1980 grew to the current 12.7 percent.

In Slovenia's economy, there is little interest in investing in the underdeveloped areas. According to the data from the first six months of this year, of the 173 major investment projects that are under construction, only three are located in underdeveloped areas. It is being emphasized that what is lacking most of all are quality investment programs and objects that would redirect the economy to these areas. Also, there are too few transfers of quality programs from organizations of associated labor in the developed areas.

Even though the banks have given special treatment to those who invested in the underdeveloped areas through favorable credit arrangements, credit and monetary restrictions have still not had enough influence on the extent of investments. Investors were also given significant tax advantages, and the republic budget for cofinancing major development plans and programs in this area has set aside over 60 million dinars annually. Still, it is felt that all these encouragement measures are still not enough to make the economy interested to a significant extent in making major investments in the underdeveloped opstinas and areas.

9110/12948

CSO: 2800/176

POLITICS

ALBANIA

REGULATION ON DISTRIBUTION, ASSIGNMENT OF WORKERS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 4, Nov 85 pp 123-130

[Text]

ORDINANCE

No 4, Date 2 August 1985

FOR THE DISTRIBUTION AND ASSIGNMENT OF WORKERS

In order that labor resources may be studied and distributed by scientific criteria according to the state plan, also on the basis of and in the execution of the Labor Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Council of Ministers promulgates this ordinance:

Article 1

Labor resources are calculated, studied and distributed by plan, according to the methodology of the planning of the economy and of the culture and the appropriate method. For this purpose a balance sheet of manpower resources and distribution is compiled. At the district level this balance sheet is compiled by the executive committee of the district people's council, and sent together with the other draft-plan indices to the State Planning Commission, whereas for the whole country it is compiled by the State Planning Commission.

Article 2

Labor resources not already distributed and those newly created in the towns will be assigned by the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts to work places created by the plan in enterprises, different institutions and in military units, within and outside the towns, in agricultural enterprises and in agricultural cooperatives.

Article 3

New labor resources created in the village and in inhabited centers outside the towns are distributed and placed in agricultural cooperatives and enterprises.

By decision of the executive committee of the district people's council, after all the undistributed labor resources and those newly created in the towns are used, workers can be withdrawn from the village for very essential

needs of enterprises for mining, oil, geology, the exploitation and processing of wood, forests, construction, land reclamation and anything else.

#### Article 4

For the activity which they conduct within the district, on the basis of the approved plan, the enterprises, institutions, military units and agricultural cooperatives shall by 30 November present to the executive committee of the people's council of the appropriate district the new needs for workers for the following year, broken down by trimesters, by males, females, according to profession and the place where they will work (in the town, in work centers outside the towns or in the countryside), also the number of workers with residence in villages which are agricultural cooperatives, broken down for each agricultural cooperative for which the renewal of the agreement is requested. For the activities union they conduct outside the district they shall send to their sectors in the other districts by 25 November, the approved plan of labor indices for the following year, and these sectors shall present this, by 30 November, to the executive committee of the people's council of the appropriate district.

#### Article 5

The executive committees of the people's councils of the districts, in compliance with the approved plan, shall determine the number of new workers for each enterprise, yard and sector, institution, military unit or agricultural cooperative, also the resources for obtaining them, for the activities which these develop within the district, keeping in mind how busy all the active forces of the population are. For this, by 15 December each year, for the following year, they shall send:

- a) To enterprises, institutions, military units and agricultural cooperatives the planned number of new workers which they will receive from the town during the year, broken down by trimesters, males and females, the place from which they will be withdrawn, from which town or ward of Tirana and how many from the countryside.
- b) To the people's councils of the towns, the Tirana city wards and the united villages, the planned number of new workers for each enterprise, institution, military unit and agricultural cooperative, also the planned number of workers who will be sent for higher training, as annually, broken down by trimesters, by male and female, also the planned number of workers dwelling in the villages which are agricultural cooperatives, for which the agreement will be renewed for the following year.

#### Article 6

The people's council of the united village, considering also the opinion of the leadership of the agricultural cooperative according to the plan sent by the executive committee of the district people's council, shall distribute to the people's councils of the villages the number of workers who are required for work in the economic enterprises, in the different institutions, in the military units, and also the number of workers who will be sent for higher training.

The people's council of the village, according to the plan sent by the people's council of the united village, designates the persons who, with their consent, are sent to work in enterprises, institutions, military units and for higher training, without uprooting their family from the village, also it appoints or issues the work approval document for service workers of health, educational and cultural institutions, in communal services and in the trade network, which conduct their activity within the territory of its jurisdiction.

#### Article 7

For workers who will be withdrawn from villages which are agricultural cooperatives and who will enter into work relations with economic enterprises, institutions and military units, a written agreement shall be contracted between the leadership of the agricultural cooperative and the directorate of the enterprise, institution or military unit with a term no longer than one year, attaching to this the appointment list of workers. In the agreement the number of workers and the duration of their work will be defined.

The work agreement, contracted for the planned year or for shorter terms, may be renewed only at the decision of the executive committee of the district people's council.

The people's councils of the villages are advised that in designating persons who will be sent to work in enterprises they should keep in mind their profession and level of skills, especially for the workers who are sent to work in the sectors of oil, geology and mines.

#### Article 8

Districts which have a surplus of manpower may send workers, with their approval, to districts which have need of manpower, when they reach agreement with one another. The sending of workers from one district to another, to work in large projects with national importance, shall always take place on the basis of the plan sent by the State Planning Commission.

#### Article 9

Enterprises, institutions and military units accept and keep on the job workers up to the number designated them in the plan.

In cases when they have a situation with fewer workers than planned, the executive committee of the district people's council, when judging it reasonable, has a right to distribute workers up to the planned number, regardless of whether the enterprise, institution or military unit has or has not made a request for new workers.

#### Article 10

Enterprises have a right to retain workers above the plan, in proportion to the overfulfillment of the plan of production, of construction and of services, respecting the planned productivity for each worker, on condition that the goods produced over the plan have a market of sale, that their distribution is planned, that they are profitable and that their production is financed within the planned material resources or with local resources, as defined in separate provisions.

When enterprises have fulfilled the plan for the number of workers, they have a right to accept for work above the plan the persons sentenced to reeducation through labor, who are sent by the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts, and they may spend for this purpose the appropriate amount of wages. In these cases the labor section of the executive committee of the district people's council will issue the authorization for acceptance for work.

The activities which enterprises, institutions and military units seek to accomplish with the agricultural cooperatives, which cannot be carried out with workers from the town, are stipulated in the economic-financial plan of the enterprise, the institution and the agricultural cooperative. In this case, approval must first be obtained from the agricultural section and the labor section of the executive committee of the district people's council, and the agreement is contracted between the enterprise, the institution or the military unit and the agricultural cooperative.

#### Article 11

Able-bodied citizens with residence in towns, in the territory of agricultural enterprises or in other inhabited centers, who seek work for the first time, or those who have been dismissed from work and ask to be assigned to another center of work, are registered respectively at the people's council of the ward, at the people's council or at the executive committee of the people's council of the town which has no ward, at the people's council of the ward of Tirana City or at the people's council of the village. These, according to the plan sent by the executive committee of the district people's council, by the executive committee of the people's council of the city for the people's councils of the wards, and by the people's council of the united village, issue the work approval document, bearing in mind the conditions and abilities of the citizens.

#### Article 12

Workers who are in the work force and are sent to work in large and nationally important projects or in enterprises of other districts for a specified period, after the conclusion of this period, as a rule, shall return to the work center where they worked before. In this case the acceptance of these workers for work takes place on the basis of the authorization issued by the labor section of the executive committee of the people's council of the district where they will work.

#### Article 13

When there is a temporary interruption of work and the administration of the enterprise, institution and military unit, with the consent of the executive committee of the district people's council, obtain's work for the workers in another enterprise, the acceptance of these workers for work takes place with an agreement between the two enterprises which is approved by the labor section of the executive committee of the district people's council. In the agreement the obligations of the enterprises are defined and so is the period which the workers will be at work. In this case the list of workers' names replaces the work approval document, whereas the work cards shall be presented for the

necesssary annotations by the personnel branch of the respective enterprises, institutions or military units.

#### Article 14

The acceptance for work of the worker designated by the administration of the enterprise, institution and military unit to work at a lower paying job for up to 6 months in some other work center within the district, according to article 83, letter "ch" of the Labor Code, takes place on the basis of the authorization issued by the labor section of the executive committee of the district people's council.

#### Article 15

On the basis of the provisions of this ordinance, the following shall be assigned and placed in work: all able-bodied citizens who, according to special instructions, are considered and treated as workers, students who go to lower level trade schools, and training courses for students in production units, likewise the watchmen wherever they are, the gatekeepers in the enterprises, institutions, factories, construction and sectors, the non-commissioned officers in active duty and the policemen.

#### Article 16

In the beginning students who finish vocational secondary schools with interruption of work and who wish to be assigned to work as workers, are distributed and placed in work by decision of the executive committee of the district People's Council. Afterwards, the provisions of this ordinance are implemented for these the same as for all the workers.

#### Article 17

Citizens who live in towns, in the territory of agricultural enterprises or in other inhabited centers must present the work approval document and the work card in order to be placed in the job.

Citizens who live in villages which are agricultural cooperatives and who are scheduled to work as workers in institutions of health, education, culture, in communal services or as sales persons in the trade network, must present the work card and the work approval document issued by the people's council of the village in order to be placed in a job. When these citizens are scheduled to work by agreement with an enterprise, institution or military unit, the work approval document is replaced by the list of names issued by the people's council of the united village which is attached to the agreement.

Citizens who have residence in another district and who are accepted for work on the basis of the agreement between two districts or on the basis of the order of the official of the ministry or of another central institution must present the work card and written authorization, issued by the labor section of the executive committee of the district people's council where they work, or the appropriate order of the ministry or other central institution.



When the citizen enters the work force for the first time, in place of the work card he presents a certificate, issued by the organ which provided him with the work approval document, by means of which it is confirmed that he has not previously been employed.

#### Article 18

The citizen is accepted for work by the official person of the work center charged with this task.

Any official person who accepts, keeps at work or dismisses workers contrary to the provisions of this ordinance, or who does not accept for work the worker who is furnished with a work approval document according to the regulations specified by the authorized organs, when the violation does not constitute a penal action, shall be punished with a fine of up to 500 leks for each offense, or with a disciplinary measure, according to the provisions of the Labor Code.

The punishment with a fine is given by the workers of the labor section of the executive committee of the district people's council or by the worker assigned this task in the executive committee of the people's council of the town and of the wards of Tirana for the enterprises, institutions and military units which conduct activity within the territory of their jurisdiction.

The person concerned, within 5 days of receiving the written notice of the punishment, has a right to appeal to the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council, whose decision is final.

#### Article 19

The ordinance of the Council of Ministers No. 7, dated 15 October, 1976 "On the distribution and assignment of workers," the ordinance of the Council of Ministers No. 1, dated 5 January, 1981 "About certain changes in ordinance No. 7, dated 15 October 1976 "On the distribution and assignment of workers," the decision of the Council of Ministers No. 87, dated 6 March 1980 "On the acceptance for work of persons sentenced to reeducation through labor," likewise every other provision which is in contradiction to this ordinance, are abrogated.

#### Article 20

This ordinance becomes effective on 1 September 1985.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers

Adil Carcani

13083/7051

CSO: 2100/24

POLITICS

ALBANIA

STATE, SOCIETY MUST PROTECT CITIZENS FROM 'HOSTILE ACTIVITY'

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albania No 2, Apr-Jun 85 pp 49-58

[Article by Laze Leskaj: "The Protection of Citizens from Hostile and Criminal Activities is a Permanent Task of the State and Society"]

[Text] Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always had at the center of their attention the problem of protecting our people from the wrong path and from hostile and criminal activity. The history of our party attests to a crystal clarity in this area. Even before the founding of the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha did a great deal of work to win over many elements which were entering or were in danger of entering on the wrong path. Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have never interrupted this very valuable work. They operated this way at the founding meeting and they operated this way afterward, at the First Consultation of the Party Aktiv, at the Extraordinary Party Conference to deal with those who erred in Mukje, with the elements of intrigue in Berat, after the Liberation at the 5th Plenum of 1946, at the 8th Plenum of 1948, at the First Congress, etc., right up to our own time. In this unceasing struggle carried out by our party, with Comrade Enver at the head, to differentiate truly hostile elements from those put on the wrong path by chance and because of confusion, we find an endless and extremely important wealth of thoughts, attitudes, information, generalizations and directives. All of these constitute an essential part of the theoretical thought of the AWP and of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The whole life of our cherished leadership and teaching, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has been example of titanic work in this area as well. He personally did much painstaking work to protect the people from falling into error and from taking the wrong path.

From the time of the Revolution of the Meeting of Communist Groups, he drew attention to the struggle regarding strict severity toward comrades, emphasizing that "...These are nothing other than sectarianism, which concentrates attention on small things..."<sup>1</sup>

At the First Consultation of the PKSH [Albanian Communist Party] Aktiv, where A. Lulo and S. Premte were criticized for their anti-party views, Comrade Enver emphasized that "We have been of the opinion that we should improve our

comrades. We have had success in this direction and we are still pursuing this path"<sup>2</sup>

Comrade Enver carried on great work and a great struggle to give differentiated treatment to the duped elements who joined the Balli Kombetar [National Front]. "...We will continue," wrote Comrade Enver, "so that we may convince some of them; as for the others, who refuse to fight, we will try to neutralize them and stop them from being used by the enemy."<sup>3</sup>

He did not consider this task an easy one. On the contrary, it was "...very difficult and delicate, needing political tact, presence of mind and dignity. We must bear in mind that our task is to go and convince those who do not understand us, but if they try to hinder us, we will not yield to them, but take off their head..."<sup>4</sup>

The party and Comrade Enver, in their views of giving differentiated treatment to those who erred during the National Liberation Struggle, acted on the basis of basic criteria, such as; the level of knowledge of their activities, whether or not they were organized, whether or not they participated in the war, whether or not they cooperated with the occupiers, their attitude toward their mistakes, etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha took great care that the people should be on guard against the influence of enemies. There are many examples in his works which illustrate this continual concern.

"A mature comrade came to me," we read in a letter of 23 February 1943, "and advised me that Baba Selim should not fall under the influence of the fifth column."<sup>5</sup>

He once sent a letter to Gjin Marku and Kadri Hoxha, in which he drew their attention to the fact that they were not leading the life of partisan battalions and that they were taking extreme measures with partisans who erred. On another occasion, he drew attention to opportunistic attitudes.

After the liberation, the party line, according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, was just, consistent and clear-sighted in this area of well.

"In the party," writes Comrade Enver, "we also had people who were fighters, but who, at various moments, wavered. Among these were Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahui...and others, people who continually vacillated and who finally fell into the revisionist mire. We did our utmost to save them."<sup>6</sup>

Comrade Enver also made a generalize view of all the work that has been done in this area and of the path that has been followed.

"When we observed mistaken opinions and actions, their positive aspects were pointed out, but, at the same time, we criticized their faults and negative aspects, although naturally not in a very harsh manner at first. After we let them continue their work, if we saw that they were voicing mistaken opinions and performing mistaken acts again, we assigned their case to the Central

Committee, and we did this in the interest of defending the party line. In this area, we made no concessions and in no way did we deviate from the party line."<sup>7</sup>

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha displayed exemplary patience in the struggle to save people from the wrong path. "As is well known," emphasized Comrade Enver, "there are also cases among us in which, when a minor offense has been committed, the guilty person is not immediately imprisoned - in fact, he is not even removed from work. The first time, he is counselled; if he repeats the offense, he is severely criticized and is taught how to proceed in the future; if he does not correct himself, he is warned of the consequences which he may bring upon himself; he is observed, etc., etc., and if he continues on the wrong path, then more serious measures are taken. In this way," continues Comrade, "thorough educational work is done to save the person. Only if, after all this work, he does not exercise care and continues to abuse the generosity of the class, is there an obligation to take the measures provided for by the law - discharging him or imprisoning him in order that the criminal should be corrected by means of forcible measures."<sup>8</sup>

In this work and struggle, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have had clearly in mind, since beginning, the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism that between the overthrow of capitalism and the building of communist society, there is a whole historical period which is called the period of transition, i.e. of the revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter, after the old power has been eradicated. This period comprises the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is strengthened and perfected until the full construction of the classless communist society occurs. Indeed, socialist society begins to be constructed at first with the human material which existed in the old order, following the appropriate changes made among the classes which fell from power and those which took power after the violent revolution. There are several internal and external conditions which have had and continue to have a great influence on the entry of people into the violation of norms and rules of our socialist society and the performance of criminal, harmful and hostile acts. We are a country where there has been predominance of a high percentage of rural population. As a result, the influences of petit-bourgeois psychology and thought have been great and many people have entered onto wrong paths because of these influences. The capitalist and revisionist world, which surrounds us, exerts great ideological pressure on our people. The effect of this is that some of our people, who are immature, are duped and, in some cases, engage in hostile activities. Our enemies spread all kinds of illusions about the "freedom," "democracy," and "prosperity" in the capitalist and revisionist states. They do this for many purposes: to corrupt the minds of our people to incite internal enemies and direct them to support their propaganda; to introduce the spirit of dissatisfaction, lack of concern for politics, liberalism, depravity, degeneration, etc. It is precisely from this infection that our people must be protected. Therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the capitalist and revisionist encirclement is by no means passive but is a savage, active encirclement which operates in all ways and which has a major objective, aside from others, the placing of people on the wrong path. It is precisely under these conditions that the protection of our people has not been left and

cannot be left to spontaneous action. The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha has always viewed this problem as a priority, emphasizing that this work must be done by the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which must always further synchronize the actions of various organism in an effect to have our people know, every time, theoretically and practically, how to find the correct path in this complicated class struggle which develops; not only that, also to know how to do this at every moment of their lives.

The protection of our people from the wrong path is concerned with two main aspects: on the one hand, the struggle against ideologies and remnants which come from the depths of centuries, and, on the other hand, the struggle against present-day corrupting influences from the capitalist and revisionist world. In speaking to cadres, Comrade Enver said that it is "...a sine qua condition that the cadres must protect them from bourgeois ideology and its frenzies, which obstruct the path full of struggles and difficulty."<sup>9</sup>

As a result, we are concerned with a fundamental problem, with a problem that has a pronounced political, ideological and social character. It is an acute political problem that concerns the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism and communism. In this sense, the more our people are protected from the wrong path, from the path of hostile and criminal activity, the stronger and more invincible will be the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this sense, this work and struggle concern the moral and political unity of the people around the party, the unity on which all the enemies of the party and of our people have broken their heads.

At the same time, this struggle of a protective character is closely connected with the ideological aspect. It is connected with the fact of which ideology triumphs in one or another of our people. Just as in the struggle between the two opposing ideologies, bourgeois and socialist, there is no middle way and either the one or the other will triumph in the struggle between them, so in every man, the direction that he will take in life, good, or bad, depends upon the struggle that is made among various viewpoints.

Therefore, the struggle to protect our people is a struggle which concerns the mind and heart of people, their world-view, etc. In this sense, this struggle is closely connected with the truly great process of education and re-education which is continually developed in our country. During the last four decades, many people have undergone a powerful education with Marxist-Leninist ideology, with a scientific, dialectical materialist world-view at various levels and in various forms, and with good effectiveness. The great successes in all fields attest to this. During this time, there have also been many who have been re-educated or who are in the process of being re-educated. This latter process, as is well known, has many difficulties in comparison with the former one. It is well known that the more thorough, the more universal and the more efficacious Marxist-Leninist education is, the less room will remain for re-education and the fewer people will take the wrong path, the path of penal acts. To Comrade Enver Hoxha belongs the keen and valuable thought that the lofty elevation of ideology and politics is

closely connected with the strengthening of trust in the party, with the increase of patriotic consciousness, with the better comprehension of tasks, with correct orientation in every situation, with a wealth of more initiatives and the making of fewer errors. That is why no one must neglect, to the slightest extent, his Marxist-Leninist education and his unceasing shaping by the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

From the social standpoint, the protective struggle is directly connected with the matter of fact what class you are connected with and what class you will serve and be devoted to. On the other hand, it is inextricably linked with the phenomenon of the number of our people that will embark on the wrong path, the path of crime.

Therefore the work and struggle to protect people can by no means simply be called humanitarian, but constitute an historical necessity which concerns the happiness of our people, the defense for the country, the construction of socialism and communism, and the present and future of our fatherland. The question of creating concepts which are as clear and as complete as possible for the protective struggle and work, as one of the most important and urgent tasks, is thus imperative.

It is in on way fortuitous, but well calculated in detail, that the internal and external enemies, including the group of the multiple agent, Mehmet Shehu, had aimed one of their poisoned arrows at a very delicate target, at striking our people from far away, in order to make as many people as possible dissatisfied and to lead as many people as possible onto the path of crime.

To Comrade Enver Hoxha also belongs the great merit of having strongly criticized, during the National Liberation Struggle, the sectarian attitudes of M. Shehu, which even led to the unjust and very mistaken execution (for hostile purposes, as emerged later) of many peasants who had been duped by the Balli and the reaction. As Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote to M. Shehu on 5 November 1943: "In the brigade's encounter with the forces of reaction... you took many prisoners and... you executed 65 of them. This action darkens the picture. This execution is excessive, unjust and very wrongful. We must bear in mind that the peasants who are in the fighting units of the Balli are innocent, confused elements and victims. We must behave differently with them. It is our duty, as soldiers of justice, that we must speak with these people and advise them to find the correct path and desert the ranks of the occupiers and traitors. But we must not execute them."<sup>10</sup>

The vigilance of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha did not protect them from the preaching of the enemy, Fadil Pacrami, who said: "I have had enough of the struggle against the enemy, now let us begin the struggle among ourselves!" He tried to have us let the enemy exist, to have us create a pause, while he gathered forces, grouped them and linked up with the external enemy until the appropriate moment came for him to launch a direct assault against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against socialism, against the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, the only socialist country in the world.

The enemies of the party and the state intended to make the people dissatisfied with the party and the people's power and, at a difficult moment for the party, to create a catastrophe by means of these people.

The party and Comrade Enver have viewed the necessity of protecting the people from the wrong path as a problem which is directly concerned with the relation between the present and the future of our country and our people. This is one of those problems which, by its nature, concerns the construction of the present and guarantees the future. In connection with this dialectical relationship, Comrade Enver has emphasized that "If the present is constructed correctly, if it is placed on a sound, steel foundation, if the walls and the ramparts of this fortress are raised well and are strong, then the future is assured. Otherwise, what has been created may be damaged."<sup>11</sup>

It is precisely this possibility that is concerned with the fact of how we may accomplish the struggle to protect our people from the wrong path. There are still people who view more abstractly this possibility of damaging what has been built as something concrete which takes concrete form in specific areas and fronts; among these is also the incitement of our people, in order to lead them, in one way or another, into hostile and criminal activities.

Our socialist reality attests to the fact that the present is being constructed correctly, on a sound, immovable foundation. In our country, thanks to the colossal work that the party has done, the whole young generation, born in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is growing up in a constantly better way, and they know how to build and defend their socialist fatherland.

By fighting with intelligence and patience to protect our people from the wrong path, we give the enemy a crushing blow and we close one of the most dangerous loopholes, which it seeks to open and use in its savage struggle against us. At the same time, we destroy one of its most diabolical tactics - that of launching our own people against us, i.e. fighting against us with "our own hands," thus seeking to lead us into a vicious circle lacking any way out.

If the problem of protecting our people from the wrong path is neglected, even for a short time, crime and other violations of the law will increase. This increase would not remain only within the limits of quantity: in time, it would become an acute problem and quantity would become quality, since it should not be forgotten that a particular quantity has a definite quality. The party has given timely warning of this, making it clear that crime is "...a serious obstacle to the construction of socialism and communism in our country.

The party and Comrade Enver, in generalizing the experience of the development of the class struggle in this aspect as well, have argued that it is not only crime as a whole which constitutes a serious obstacle to the process of building socialism and defending the victories which have been achieved, but particular penal acts can seriously damage the interests of the people and the



party and compromise socialist construction. For this reason, these dangers must be eliminated from our path, so that we may advance with more vigor.

To give the protection of our people the required place means to think simultaneously about the present and the future of the fatherland. It also means to be farsighted, to consider and foresee the ultimate consequences of our activities and of the various actions which occur in our society.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, always considering these consequences more thoroughly and with clear-sightedness, drew attention to several sensitive points in a number of his works. He always focuses upon man, our people, who lay the building stones in our fatherland. He is very much interested in how they think about leaving the heritage of the present to the young generations that come one after the other, so that they should always proceed and advance under the leadership of Marxism-Leninism, which they should know how to put into practice correctly, in the development of socialist society.

This great concern and preoccupation of Comrade Enver's not only was expounded in a number of his works, but the party too, under his leadership, has taken all the necessary measures so that youth may take a clean banner and always hold it high, generation after generation, until communism.

It is well known that youth is delicate and, as a result, work with it has the same character. Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes: "Youth is as pure as crystal which, if not treated with care, breaks."<sup>12</sup> The vigilance of the party and its care of youth has been great. On the one hand, it has never placed youth under tutelage, but has stimulated its independent activity and initiative. The party has made it clear to youth that the enemy, too, has worked and continues to work, knowing well that youth is delicate. The internal and external class enemies, as has been shown by the judicial process against them, have worked and continue to work a great deal to sabotage and undermine everything of the present, but their primary attention has always been directed to undermining the future, to "the decay of the people's future," to the degeneration of youth and the budding shoots of youth, to those who will take the places of the old and who will take and carry forward the banner of the revolution. In order to achieve their goals, the enemies preach that "youth and the intelligents are, by nature, liberal and cannot tolerate discipline and rules, that youth especially must not be confined, oppressed and fatigued in military exercises and campaigns, but should be left free and condition is should be created for them to enjoy themselves and savor life while they are young," etc.

The enemy strives to have youth not participate in the fundamental problems of our socialist life, in socialist construction and the defense of the country, areas where our marvellous young people have made a valuable contribution. The enemy understands that rules and discipline mean death for it, that it can find no remedy, that the actions temper and revolutionize youth, that military training prepares young people to defend the fatherland ably. That is why it vomits bile and "sympathizes" with our youth.

The struggle for the education of people, especially youth, and for their protection from the wrong path must not be general, but concrete. Only in this way will no place be found among them for extravagant phenomena, a dissolute and decadent life, insane music and the other evil and disgusting vices of the bourgeoisie, which are disseminated with very noisy propaganda by the bourgeois means of information and propaganda, especially by television. Practice has shown that young people who are unformed politically and ideologically have been led onto the wrong path and even to the committing of penal acts under the direct influence of foreign television programs, which promote the cult of violence and sex, and which propagandize murder, robbery, etc.

Practice indicates that more attention must be devoted to that propaganda which directly harms and damages the general party line. In fact, this propaganda, in its diversity and connected with all the political machinations which are made on the international level and with the circumstances that are created, etc., influences and exerts pressure on vacillating and immature people, and especially on some young people. There are still cases where the consequences should continue to be combatted more, good information is not always given about the contents and goals of this enemy propaganda, the changes which it makes at particular stages and its efforts to reach various strata of the population. We must not forget that in our time, a great din of propaganda is made, a confusion for socialism. Many states constantly proclaim loudly and put up posters about the fact that they are building socialism, while always spreading further mistaken views and practices with regard to it, which, at the same time, have nothing in common with it.

Under these conditions a more preventive, alert level of work is required. Our party has activated the young generation in the class struggle within the country and against outside enemies. This school of the class struggle has tempered them, has made them understand the difficulties of growth, as well as those which are multiplied by the internal and external enemy, one by one or together, connected by concealed or open threads, but always frayed threads when our vigilance is at the required height.

Our party, led by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, has struggled so that our youth will have a better and more thorough understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat, theoretically and practically. In particular, to understand that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a means of ensuring a happy prosperous and cultural life for youth and all the people. It ensures all those advantages and a broad, sound and just democracy. The great and the small in our country have a continually better understanding of this. This is one of those sensitive points which has colossal importance for the present and the future, and especially for the protection of our people from the wrong path and from hostile and criminal activity. The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always emphasized the necessity of creating deep and enduring convictions regarding the indisputable superiority of socialism over the capitalist and revisionist order. The 8th AWP Congress also placed these problems at the center of attention.

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have also combatted these cases and manifestations which, in one way or another, have wanted to paint all aspects of life in the brightest colors for youth, even when they have not been and are not like this. In some films, for example, our villages are presented in an idealized manner, as though everything has been resolved and practically no differences exist between the village and the city. Although such phenomena are rare, they do not have a positive influence on knowledge of life and do not properly educate youth.

From the study of a number of cases, it appears that most of the elements led by chance onto the wrong path, have been young people poorly prepared for life, for confrontation with the difficulties of growth, etc. These have generally been people who have left school, work, etc. It is for this reason that the party and Comrade Enver have made it a permanent task that young people should become acquainted with and learn difficulties too, that they should understand these difficulties correctly, objectively and subjectively, and combat and successfully overcome them. It is precisely in this that the strength of a true Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary education for youth consists.

In emphasizing the necessity to protect our people from hostile and criminal activities, we do not want to over estimate this problem or view it in a biased manner. We always have in mind the protection of those of our people who can and must be protected, who must not become the property of the class enemy and a tool in its hands. But when these people dip into the till knowingly, the dictatorship of the proletariat must punish them severely and, after their punishment, it must not cease being vigilant over them. It must be better understood that the dictatorship of the proletariat warns them once, twice and then seizes them by the neck and gives them the punishment they deserve, according to all the rules and laws in force. This means that the protection of our people from the wrong path and from hostile and criminal activities has a pronounced class character. We try to protect our people from penal punishment until they deserve it. On the other hand, both coercive measures and penal punishment have as their objective the re-education of people and their return to the correct path.

The correct political, ideological and organizational line of the party, Comrade Enver teaches us, in the guarantee of success in this complicated struggle too. The correction of a person led onto the wrong path is compared in importance to the winning of a battle in the struggle against the class enemies. As Comrade Enver says about this, "We must not hesitate to criticize the person who errs or does wrong, whoever he may be, and we must try to bring him to the correct path by using all the forms, tactfully, patiently and with the justice of the party, and we may be sure that with every person corrected from error we have won a battle in the struggle against the class enemies."<sup>13</sup>

The splendid achievements of our country on the areas of education and the tempering of the new man, as in all areas, which friendly foreigners have summarized by the term, "Albanian miracle," can occur in a country of the

dictatorship of the proletariat where a tested party stands at the head - a party like the AWP, which has been led and will be led forever by the teachings of a g

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Enver Hoxha. "Vepra" [Works], vol. 1 (2nd edition), p. 17, Tirana, 1983.
2. Enver Hoxha, "Vepra", vol. 1, p 70.
3. idem. p. 259.
4. idem. p. 259.
5. idem. p. 316.
6. Enver Hoxha, "Vepra", vol. 41, p. 357.
7. idem. p. 357.
8. Enver Hoxha, "Raporte e Fjalime 1970-1971" [Reports and Speeches, 1970-1971], p. 421.
9. Enver Hoxha, "Raporte e Fjalime 1974-1975", p. 136.
10. Enver Hoxha, "Vepra, vol. 2, p. 44.
11. Enver Hoxha, "Raporte e Fjalime 1978-19779", p. 33.
12. Enver Hoxha, "Ceshtje te Revolucionit dhe te Ndertimit Socialist" [Issues of Revolution and Socialist Construction], vol. 2, p. 196.
13. Enver Hoxha, "Vepra", vol 21, p. 35.

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POLITICS

ALBANIA

COOPERATION OF POLICE ORGANS WITH COURTS

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 2, Apr-Jun 85 pp 81-87

[Article by Ilir Cano: "The Cooperation of the Police with the Examining Magistrate, the Court and the Prosecutor Increases the Effectiveness of Work"]

[Text] The 40-year experience of the struggle which has been made and continues to be made by the organs of the people's police together with the organs and other units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, under the leadership of the party, with the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha in heart and mind, have attested to the fact that the noted achievements in the successful development of the class struggle against internal and external enemies and anti-socialist elements are connected, among other things, with the attention shown to ensuring close cooperation with the organs of the examining magistrate, the court and the prosecutor.

The organization of cooperation among these organs has not been and cannot be simply a search for a method and style of work, but first and foremost an important party task with a deep political, ideological, organizational and juridical character, which is penetrated by the goal of effective organization and development of the struggle against crime, its prevention and the strengthening of our socialist legal order as a whole.

Seen from this viewpoint, the cooperation of the police with the organs of justice is the most concrete expression of those actions which are undertaken in the whole process of their work, the tasks which they accomplish in a reciprocal manner, the coordination which is organized for specific problems and directions of their activities, the reciprocal assistance which they give each other, the exchange of experience, etc.

Aside from the nature and various subordination of these organs and apart from the specific character of tasks which they accomplish or other structural differences, they unite essentially identical factors in this area, such as:

The police, as well as the examining magistrate, the court and the prosecutor are guided by the same line, by the political line of our party, its instructions and directives and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which constitute the infallible orientating compass in all their activities, the source of inspiration and the factor of all successes.

These four organs are part of a single system - that of the dictatorship of the proletariat - and, being powerful arms of the party and the working class,

they operate among themselves in a dialectical unity of thought and action for the unceasing development of the revolution, for the construction of socialism and the defense of the country.

Their functions, apart from the forms and methods they use and the paths they follow, are directed toward the same objective and have the same goals and purposes: the struggle to discover, prevent and punish, in a timely and forceful manner, hostile and criminal activity, and to differentiate and protect young elements from accidentally falling onto the path of crime.

The efforts made to strengthen cooperation, especially in recent years, after the 4th, 5th and 7th plenums of the party Central Committee, have been united with the struggle against every manifestation of formalism and sectorialism, which the enemy conspirators, Kadri Hazbui and Fecor Shehu, had attempted, with specific aims, to introduce even in the area of cooperation among these organs, in order to sap their active character and their around spirit of understanding, and to use them as means of command and interference in relations among them, in opposition to the party line and the requirements of the law.

The tasks which the party and Comrade Enver assigned on the occasion of the reorganization and of the separation of the examining magistrates's office from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as practice indicates, is further strengthening this cooperation, in full accordance with the unviolated party line; on the other hand, the jurisdictions of each are being observed rigorously.

The conclusion drawn lead to the fact that effectiveness of cooperation is connected with correct evaluation, understanding and action. In this view, cooperation can by no means be understood as an optional activity act, as has happened in some cases in practice, but as a legal obligation which enamates from definite norms. In the decree, "On the People's Police", in the law, "Regarding the Examining Magistrate" or in the one regarding the organization of the court and of the prosecutor's office, special provisions have been established for cooperation, the execution of which is obligatory. Cooperation is not a spontaneous action, but is organized and programmed from the beginning among these organs. The joint directives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the General Prosecutor's Office and the office of the Chief of the General Magistrate, etc, have served and continue to serve this goal. In these, rules are set up for several problems and areas of work, which constitute part of the object of this cooperation.

By its nature and the tasks which it accomplishes, cooperation does not accept work done by fits and starts, or superficial and bungled actions, but coaction and coordination on a continuing not static work which suffers from inertia and stereotypes, but an active operation with a high qualitative level, which is characterized by a tendency to constant growth, in accordance with the requirements demanded by the circumstances in specific cases and situations.

The synthesis of this task was given by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Party Congress, which he had made on the basis of a scientific analysis of

cooperation, directed that "Cooperation and coordination of work on various problems should be strengthened on the basis of the party line and policy, in order to arrive at a rapid solution to problems on the basis of jurisdictions which have been given to each."<sup>1</sup>

The many complex tasks accomplished by the police organs and those of the examining magistrate, the court and the prosecutor, at head quarters and at the grassroots, have dictated the level at which, on the basis of the specific character of their functions and the circumstances and features of crime at the district and republic level, they must study and determine, as correctly as possible, those problems and areas of work for which mutual cooperation is imperatively required. The experience of many years has consolidated a positive practice, according to which cooperation of the police with the judicial organs includes two main areas: concrete problems of dynamics and cooperation regarding major areas of their activities.

With respect to the first aspect, the police organs have cooperated and continue to cooperate more broadly with the organs of the examining magistrate in particular: this is penetrated by three main phases. The first phase includes the period before the beginning of the examination, when actions are coordinated in the gathering of sufficient evidence to prove the committing of a penal act by a specific subject. The second phase is constituted by the examination until its conclusion. This is also the most important stage, at which the coordination of actions aims at the discovery in depth and breadth of the hostile and criminal activity and at making the most just definite decisions. The third phase includes the cooperation which is exercised after the conclusion of the examination.

The marked achievements in recent years, especially in the area of discovery of hostile and criminal activity, are connected with the improvement of forms and methods in the struggle against crime, as an important requirement assigned by the 8th Party Congress to the Internal Affairs organs, which also includes the police and other services and sectors in which cooperation, as one of these forms, has played an important role both within the Internal Affairs organs and with the examining magistrate's office, in all three phases. The discovery of some groups with wide criminal and hostile activities, beginning with a penal act or with particular occurrences, is the result of well organized cooperation among the police organs and the examining magistrate, the prosecutor and the organs of state security.

In these discoveries, decisive importance has been and still is attached to cooperation in some key moments and actions. The immediate organization and rapid movement of the operational investigating group to the place where the crime occurs, the careful use of technical and scientific means, the attentive coordination of actions by the examining magistrate and the police to discover, determine clues and material evidence and, on this basis, the development of verison and the intelligent, high level execution of necessary

<sup>1</sup>Enver Hoxha, "Raport ne Kongresin e 8-te PPSH [Report at the 8th Party Congress], pp. 58-59.



actions have constituted and still constitute the primary factor in the discovery and rapid punishment of perpetrators of serious crimes.

Another point of effective coordination is that connected with the rapid and just establishment of coercive procedural measures, from detention up to control and arrest.

In the case of forgery of terrain tickets in Tirana, the main perpetrators were discovered and caught within a few days and possession was taken of the means of perpetration of the crime, as a result of rapid, sudden and frontal actions during the detention and control of these criminals, actions which were accomplished in full coordination among the examining magistrate, the police and the prosecutor.

The development and reciprocal execution of tasks which appear during the examination process have been and remain among the major requirements of coordination between the police and the examining magistrate. They constitute an important phase, when all the activities of these organs are made concrete. The results of cooperation between them have been dependent upon the level of organization and mobilization of work and by the level of feeling of responsibility on the part of the cadres of these two organs. In some cases that have been prosecuted, especially in recent years, which began initially with criminal activity, thanks to the good interaction of operational and examination work, it became possible to uncover hostile activities as well, ranging from agitation and propaganda against the state to treason against the fatherland in the form of flight and espionage. This proves the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha regarding the close connection which exists between the external and internal hostile front, against which our measures and actions must be more active and more vigorous.

Joint analysis during the examination process and in its concluding phase, as another instance of cooperation, especially when they are made with the necessary seriousness, have yielded possibilities for correct judgement on problems uncovered during the examination and in the course of operations, for drawing conclusions and other tasks which have advanced the situation, but also for helping those who must go to court and those who must make distinctions regarding penal policy in order to make a just decision. With regard to the good work that has been done in this area, it is sufficient to point out that from 1982 until the end of 1984, mainly for matters treated by the examining magistrate, many people were saved from penal responsibility, of whom only a very small number were led again onto the path of crime.

This is an indicator that speaks for the correct comprehension of important instructions given by the party and Comrade Enver, to the effect that along with strong and merciless punishment of hostile and criminal elements, distinctions made for must be people who were led onto this path by accident. This task must be further expanded in the future by means of wider use of public unmaskings and admonitions, the giving of conclusions by the examining magistrate, public trials and other measures which also have a powerful preventive influence and, at the same time, are more concrete manifestations of the proletarian party spirit in the activities of our organs.

In this cooperation, the role of the central apparatus has been and remains active, particularly in important problems and especially in cases where criminal activity has been widespread in several districts. Coordination of activities among districts and close-range assistance to elucidate and resolve specific situations, to satisfy urgent requests, to open broader horizons to the work of the police, the examining magistrate and the prosecutor, etc. have been and remain some of the main tasks of the Police Directorate Examining Magistrate's and General Prosecutor's Office and their dependent organs.

At the present stage of the development of the class struggle, the dynamics of some penal acts which are widespread in some districts, the yearly suspensions for non-discovery of perpetrators of penal acts in some matters under investigation, the release of some people under detention without having been able to prove that they have committed the acts, procrastination and the fact that some matters are not pursued to the end, etc. attest to an unsatisfactory level of cooperation among the police, the examining magistrate and the prosecutor in the examination process, etc. This requires more correct understanding of the tasks of each organ and cadre, a struggle against inertia and bias, a greater feeling of responsibility, reciprocal reporting requirements in the execution of tasks, more thorough analyses, and more critical and self-critical spirit against any manifestation of unhealthy familiarity, as well as the fact that each person should execute his assigned tasks according to the functions that have been designated to him.

As far as the second aspect is concerned, cooperation of the police with the organs of justice have had and continue to have not only broader dimensions, but also a more complex character. This is explained by the nature and specific areas which are included in this cooperation. Among those areas are: increase of the investigative force, prevention and the policy of penal procedure, quality and speed of actions, execution of directives, work for the knowledge and popularization of laws, etc.

Cooperation is realized by means of a variety of forms and methods, which practice has considered beneficial. Continual meetings of officials of the four organs have helped in ensuring reciprocity of knowledge of the situation in the field of activity of each in determining tasks and concrete measures. In connection with the requirements that have existed and continue to exist for each other in the interest of the work, with respect to various defects, weaknesses and infringements, according to the case, these organs have organized joint meetings of their workers, where problems have been discussed and ironed out, and ways to improve the situation have been indicated. Such meetings have been held, for example, in Tirana, between the police and the examining magistrate or between the examining magistrate and the court, etc.

Better work has been done with joint meetings organized by our organs as one of the forms of this cooperation, where important issues scheduled since the beginning of the year, have been reviewed. Naturally, their effectiveness has been linked in every case with the level of preparation of every organ and with the serious work that has been done to combat every manifestation of formalism.

Joint studies, generalizations and analyses regarding crime, the perpetrators of penal acts and the work indices of these organs have opened prospects for placing cooperation and coordination on a more scientific basis, in accordance with the requirements of the 8th plenum of the party Central Committee in 1980.

In recent years, studies and analyses of the police, together with the organs of justice, have been made for cases of theft of property of citizens and for application of penal procedure policy on the basis of Article 73 of the Code of Penal Procedure, etc. The study made on the school for the re-education of minors, collaborated on by the Police Directorate and the Supreme Court, on the basis of which new criteria were determined, as well as the study of problems of the resolution with reconciliation by the police in some penal acts, on the basis of which joint orders were issued by the four organs, will better serve the prevention of penal acts committed by youth, etc.

Experience gained in the area of joint studies, analyses and generalizations must serve as a basis for beginning to accomplish the same things in directions dictated by need, such as those connected with measures for prevention of the propagation of penal acts among minors, for lowering the criminal recidivist rate, for matters of suspension, and for a more correct combination of coercive and educational measures, which constitutes one of the important requirements which the party assigns to our organs. In particular, the creation of a more correct relationship among the resolutions of tasks in dynamics and thorough study work must become in a better manner constitute a part of the work method of our organs, since study with clear objectives and goals, as well as analyses and syntheses of social problems with thoughts and proposals for the party, for the organs of the government and of the mass organizations, constitute another most important factor at the present time for the prevention of penal acts.

The preparation of materials with an informational and reporting character for the organs of the party and government, regarding legal problems, those concerning penal procedure policy, knowledge and popularization of laws, and other matters is another area which has engaged and must further engage in the attention of our four organs in the most effective coordination and cooperation possible, so that the conclusions and suggestions given to them may be as precise as possible.

Naturally, as in every other area in cooperation too, it is necessary that qualitative steps be taken. As was emphasized at the 9th plenum of the party Central Committee, "We cannot use the same work methods and solutions today as were used years ago, because not only is the character of the problems with which we are faced more complex, but also the requirements for their solutions are more rigorous and urgent."

Comrade Enver has also left us, the workers in internal affairs and justice, a priceless inheritance. He worked out scientifically the most fundamental issues in the prevention of penal acts, refuting with arguments the bourgeois revisionist theories on the nature and causes of crime. He argued that crime is not an eternal social phenomenon, but an historical phenomenon which is

engendered by the division of society into classes, and that socialist society has great possibilities to reduce antisocial acts because they are not in its nature.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that the more people know the party line and the party teachings, the more they are guided by these in life, the fewer penal acts and violations of the law will occur.

For the prevention of crime, first and foremost a thorough understanding or full analysis of party directives concerning the raising of the political and ideological level is required.

Our task is to study and restudy these, not simply for the sake of education , but as a guide for action, to make them concrete in all the activities which we develop for the maintenance and strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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## POLITICS

BULGARIA

## LEADERS CONGRATULATE SRV'S PHAM VAN DONG

AU141502 SOFIA RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Feb 86. p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following telegram to Pham van Dong, member of the Politburo of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRV [SRV]:

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, and on our own behalf we convey to you most sincere congratulations on the occasion of your 80th birthday.

Your entire life is indissolubly linked to the selfless struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party, for national freedom and for the reunification of your homeland, for building socialism in Vietnam.

The Bulgarian Communists and working people know you as a loyal fellow worker of Ho Chi Minh, as an ardent patriot and consistent internationalist, as an indefatigable fighter against imperialism and reaction, as a faithful friend of our country.

We wish you, dear Comrade Pham Van Dong, vigorous health and personal happiness, as well as great successes in your selfless activities devoted to the prosperity of the SRV, to the further expansion and intensification of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, countries, and peoples, to the unity of the socialist community member-countries, and to the cause of peace and socialism throughout the world.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

COMMENTARY VIEWS U.S. 'RESTRICTIVE MEASURES' AGAINST UN STAFF

AU141545 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 13 Mar 86 p 3

[Valentin Atanasov "Diplomatic Commentary": "Atmosphere of Threats and Dictates -- Discrimination Against UN"]

[Text] The U.S. Government yet again is demonstrating its nonobservance of generally accepted principles and norms of international law, by introducing, starting in 6 January 1986, restrictive measures on the free movement in the United States of the Staff of the diplomatic and permanent representations of Bulgaria, the GDR, CSSR, and PPR, as well as of the employees of the UN Secretariat who are citizens of these countries. From this date the obligation comes into force for them to use the services of the State Department Bureau for Services to Foreign Missions when arranging all official and private journeys within the country. At least two days prior to any trip they are required to make an application with details of the purpose, route, and duration of the journey, and also the type of transport and name of the hotel where they will stay. All forms of reservations connected with the journey are made only by the Service Bureau.

What does this "readiness" of the U.S. State Department to "render without payment services and facilities" to the representatives of the above-listed socialist countries mean? If we employ the words of THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper, this decision is "part of the American authorities" program to restrict the representatives of the socialist countries in their activities in the United States." THE NEW YORK TIMES points out that the adoption of the restrictive measures was preceded by "a lengthy spy campaign" in the United States, in which the President himself was involved. In his address on the radio on 30 November 1985, the President let it be understood that there were in progress "wide reforms and improvements to prevent the leakage of information in the face of the increasing danger from the representatives of the socialist countries in the United States."

In the middle of September last year, similar measures were applied against the international civil servants at the UN Headquarters from Afghanistan, Vietnam, Iran, Cuba, Libyan, and the USSR. In this connection, the UN general secretary made a request to the American Government for this decision to be reconsidered, as it represents a discriminatory approach in relation to individual members of the Secretariat based on their national citizenship.

In reply, the American Administration preferred to extend the effect of these measures to the representatives of an additional 4 countries. On this subject, in his speech to the Senate on 5 December 1985, Rozanne Ridgway, the assistant secretary of state for Europe and Canada, declared that the application of the restrictive measures was due to the fact that these countries (the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the GDR, PPR, and CSSR) had engaged, jointly with the Soviet Union, in illegal spying activities, and for this reason their employees could not be left free to move without restrictions within the territory of the United States. By the new measures important information would be provided and the FBI would be assisted in carrying out its functions more efficiently.

In the same statement, however, it was stated that the socialist countries do not impose discriminatory restrictions on the travel of American personnel in their territories, which gives them "the opportunity to gather vitally important political and economic information; to maintain contacts with religious leaders, dissidents, scientists, and cultural figures; to observe military maneuvers or the installation of new weapons systems; and to provide consular protection to American citizens in trouble."

What picture is obtained according to the logic of the American administration? When it is a question of the customary functions of the diplomatic representations, in the one case (that of the socialist countries), they are characterized as "illegal spying activities," while in the other case (that of the United States), one speaks about "gathering vitally important political and economic information." In this context, no factual data was presented in support of the assertions of the American assistant secretary of state concerning abuses of diplomatic privileges and immunities by representatives of the 4 socialist countries, or concerning any "increased spying activities" of these states on U.S. territory.

Are these actions of the American Government legal according to the generally accepted principles and norms of international law? The new provisions substantially limit the rights to freedom of movement of the employees at the diplomatic representations, which the accepting state is obliged to provide according to article 26 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. The applied measures are in gross contravention of Article 47, paragraph 1, of the same convention, under which the accepting state must not make any discrimination between states when applying the convention. Furthermore, Article 25 of the convention lays a special obligation on the accepting state to provide all facilities for the diplomatic representation to carry out its functions.

In relation to the permanent representations at the UN and the employees at the Secretariat, Article 105 of the Organization's Charter is grossly contravened; this article states that the representatives of the member-states and the employees of the Secretariat enjoy on the territory of every UN member-country, including also the country in which the seat of the UN is situated, such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent fulfillment of their functions. The discriminatory measures may be characterized also as an attempt to obstruct the activities of the employees of the UN



Secretariat and the general secretary, who has the prerogative to assign the tasks to the members of his staff. They contravene the provisions of Article 100, Vol 2, of the UN Charter, according to which every member of the organization is obliged to strictly respect the international nature of the obligations of the general secretary and the Secretariat staff, whose legal position as international officials cannot be altered on the basis of internal legislation.

As is clear from the foregoing, the measures adopted by the American Government to restrict the freedom of movement of the representatives of certain socialist countries on U.S. territory are of a clearly expressed discriminatory character. Unfounded in law, they have not been occasioned by any actions of the states concerned, but pursue purely political goals. Apart from creating obstacles for the execution of official functions by the diplomatic representatives and international civil servants who are citizens of these states, the American Government's actions are aimed at provoking distrust toward individual UN member-countries, at undermining their prestige, and at creating a climate of unfriendliness around their representations in the United States. They are part of the policy purposefully conducted for years up to the present of revising and not respecting the generally accepted and established principles and norms of international law.

These measures, as well as the U.S. Government's recent demand for cuts in the staff of the USSR's permanent UN representation, reflect the general U.S. approach toward the international organizations. An approach which is clearly revealed in the hostile statements of American politicians in relation to the UN, in the policy of blackmail against UNESCO, and in the atmosphere of threats and dictates which is being created around the missions of the member-countries in New York.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

ARMY DAILY ON RESULTS OF SPANISH REFERENDUM

AU181333 Sofia RAODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 15 Mar. 86 p 4

[Ivan Undzhiev commentary: "Captives of Atlanticism"]

[Text] Spain remains a NATO member. The final results from the 12 March referendum showed that nearly 53 percent of voters supported the country's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty.

The results of the referendum cannot be considered a surprise. At first glance they demonstrate approval of the Spanish government's pro-NATO stand. However, behind the statistical data there is also the increased polarization of the country -- out of a total of 29 million people who have the right to vote, only 9 million voted "yes", and 7 million said "no" to NATO, while 12.5 million voters did not give any answer. Under these circumstances, as the leaders of the National Coordination Commission of the antiwar organizations were justified in pointing out, the government has no right to present its victory as the opinion of the Spanish people.

The reasons for such conclusions become even stronger if we take into consideration the situation that existed in the country prior to the referendum. As many as 3 and 1/2 years were necessary for the government, headed by Felipe Gonzalez, to make up its mind to fulfill one of the basic promises to which the Spanish socialists owe their victory in the 1982 elections. But how was this done? Instead of the promised referendum on the country's exit from NATO, a referendum was held on the country remaining a NATO member. This was in conformity with the governments drastic change of policy as regards NATO.

While, prior to his appointment to the post of premier, Felipe Gonzalez publicly insisted that "integration with the Atlantic alliance would by no means contribute to increasing the security of Spain, but on the contrary would transform it into an accomplice of the policy of exacerbating international tension," he subsequently became one of the most zealous propagandists of the idea of strengthening relations between Spain and the aggressive alliance. At the 30th congress of the Spanish socialist workers' party he obtained the political support of his party and a powerful propaganda campaign expanded throughout the country in defense of the NATO orientation. All means of manipulating the citizens' minds were put into operation, including open

threats, insinuating that all sorts of evils would befall Spain should it renounce its NATO membership. The country's political stability and even its independence were questioned.

Along with gross pressure and blackmail, the government had recourse to another trick. It allegedly linked the question of the country's NATO membership to three conditions: non-participation in the military organization of the NATO bloc; the banning of nuclear weapons from the country's territory; and gradual reduction of the U.S. military presence. This, however, is purely demagogic, since Spain today actually participates in the work of all the military organs of NATO. Nevertheless, this hypocritical thesis proved convenient to dull the consciousness of numerous people.

The results from the referendum are anxiously awaited not only in Spain, but also in the remaining NATO members' capitals. A certain relief which is felt at the present moment does not conceal the disapproval at holding such referendums at all, which actually consolidate the positions of the antiwar movement; and in this particular case, it is not without significance that despite all things 7 million Spaniards, resolutely opposed NATO. This could serve as a "bad example" for other member-countries of the block, where anti-NATO feelings among the population are increasingly intensified.

In other words, if we want to briefly sum up the results of the referendum, we can say what these results actually signified for everyone -- in Brussels, in NATO headquarters -- namely, that there is dissatisfaction with the formal conditions posed for Spain's membership by this country, because although they are formal, these conditions still exist, and because NATO strategists would like to assign tasks to Madrid which are not entirely restricted to securing the rear. In Madrid, on the other hand, there is satisfaction among the pro-Atlantic right-wing forces which are in opposition; but it is quite possible that they may take advantage of the shaken prestige of the socialists as regards the forthcoming parliamentary elections. The ruling socialist party of Spain will have to think about restoring its prestige, which was seriously affected by the pro-NATO campaign. As to the Spanish people themselves, NATO has neither become more attractive, nor more acceptable as a result of the referendum.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

# FATHERLAND FRONT APPEAL ON CHEMICAL WEAPON-FREE ZONE

AU191924 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 19 Mar 86

[Text] Sofia, 19 March (BTA) -- The National Council of the Fatherland Front, the largest mass public-and-political organization in Bulgaria, is addressing the public of the Balkan countries, all creators of intellectual and material wealth, the youth, the women and the religious organizations with the appeal to direct their efforts and to contribute to the realization of the idea for turning the Balkans into a chemical-weapon-free zone.

In our complicated times the only alternative to the nuclear apocalypse is detente, disarmament and peace, the declaration-address reads. Realizing this truth, millions of people on our planet are joining the ranks of the peace champions. Some events of the past few months have given grounds to the people of good will and to the participants in the anti-war movements from all continents to regard the future with greater confidence. Only a few months ago in Geneva there were set the foundations of a new Soviet-American dialogue at summit level called upon to give a powerful impetus to the preservation of mankind's greatest treasure--peace.

The declaration-address of the National Council of the Fatherland Front points out that the new Soviet peace programme contained in the declaration of the secretary general of the CC of the CPSU, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, stands out clearly against this background. It outlines the concrete ways to averting the nuclear threat and to guaranteeing peaceful and clear skies to the present and the future generations.

It was with good reason that the declaration was called a code for the peaceful future of the planet. It was the most valuable gift to mankind in the beginning of the International Year of Peace.

Most responsibly we confirm that we will perseveringly work for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone, for enhancing security and for promoting trust, good neighborliness and cooperation among the Balkan peoples and we believe that this noble work of ours will find a full and active support among the public of the other Balkan countries, the declaration of the National Council of the Fatherland Front stresses.

At the same time we are joining the declaration-address of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Mr

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania of December 1985 for turning the Balkans into a chemical-weapon-free zone. We insist on the general and total ban of this dangerous weapons and for the adoption of measures for the averting of their spreading.

The declaring of the Balkans a chemical-weapon-free zone would be an important step towards the freeing of our continent of these extremely dangerous weapons and towards consolidating trust and cooperation among the states and peoples of our region, the declaration points out.

We are convinced that this declaration-address of ours for turning the Balkans not only into a nuclear-weapon-free zone but also into a chemical-weapon-free zone will find a positive response among the public in this region and that the responsibility before the life of our own peoples as well as the common interests of peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world will be placed above the differences of a social and other nature.

By way of conclusion the declaration-address stresses the necessity for a general and real contribution to the total and general banning of chemical weapons and to the elimination of stock piles of such weapons.

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#### ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE DISCUSSES WATER QUALITY

AU191955 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 19 Mar 86

[Text] Sofia, 19 March (BTA) -- The problems of the efficient utilization and the quality management of water were discussed today at the National Assembly Committee on Environmental Protection.

During the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) the further pollution of water has been checked and the improvement of its quality is already a stable tendency. The respective allocations have amounted to nearly 531 million Leva. Seven hundred and thirty-nine water protection projects have gone into operation, and the percentage of purified water is already 55 percent of the industrial water by the end of 1985. One hundred and forty water purifying installations have been built in the Bulgarian Black Sea coast territorial complex. About 35 percent of the overall amount of waste waters is biologically treated.

The water resources per capita of the population amount to 2,180 cubic meters in Bulgaria, whereas the respective figure is 12,250 cubic meters for Yugoslavia, 10,300 cubic meters for Romania, and 5,150 cubic meters for Greece. The water deficit and its uneven distribution in areas and seasons makes it imperative that hard efforts be channelled into its efficient utilization and conservation.

Irrespective of the 17 percent drop in the use of clean water for industrial needs during the five-year period, 46 percent of the industrial water is still potable. Certain shortcomings in the maintenance of the water supply network are the reason why 30 percent of the drinking water is wasted. Water is also wasted in agricultural irrigation.

Among the measures outlined by the committee for a decisive improvement of water consumption in industry and agriculture, special attention is paid to the need for the accelerated transference of low-water and water-free technologies in production and for the industrial enterprises and the agro-industrial complexes to build their own recycling systems.

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KHRISTOV, BELCHEV TALK WITH SADCC DELEGATION

AU202102 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 20 Mar 86

[Text] Sofia, 20 March (BTA) -- The possibilities for development of economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the Southern African Development Coordination Committee (SADCC) were discussed during the two-day visit of a delegation of this organization to this country. The delegation was led by Mr Rui Baltasar dos Santos Alves, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the committee and minister of finance of Mozambique.

In their talks with mr Khristo Khristov, minister of trade of Bulgaria, and Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, the guests spoke about the possibilities and aims of the SADCC, which had been established to coordinate the activities of the countries from the southern African south for their economic development and for achieving of economic independence. These countries are interested in the development of the cooperation with Bulgaria, on bilateral and multilateral basis, in the field of power generation, prospecting, industry, agriculture, transport, communications, training of personnel. The relations between the SADCC member--states and the socialist countries, Bulgaria included, have started as early as the time of the struggle for independence, and now this visit is aiming at their raising on a higher level. The guests presented to the Bulgarian side documents, containing a set of projects to be constructed by the organization's member-countries in the 1986-1990 period.

Minister Khristo Khristov stressed that with most of the countries-members of the organization, like Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Bulgaria maintains active economic relations. He voiced the support of this country to the aims of the organization and expressed our readiness for widening of the mutual economic cooperation.

The delegation of the SADCC was received also by Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria.

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## BRIEFS

BCP TURNOVO OKRUG CONFERENCE--On 24 February at the "Konstantin Kisimov" Theater, the 21st accountability-election conference of the Veliko Turnovo Okrug BCP organization took place. It was attended by Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Nikola Tsonev was reelected first secretary of the BCP Veliko Turnovo Okrug Committee. Dimitur Balukov, Milena Doncheva, Stoyan Vitinov, and Raycho Penchev were elected secretaries of the BCP Okrug Committee. Khristo Kozukharov was reelected chairman of the BCP Veliko Turnovo Okrug Control-Auditing Commission. [Excerpts] [Sofia RABONITCHESKO Delo in Bulgarian 25 Feb 86 p 6 AU]

NEW SCIENCE ACADEMY MEMBERS--Sofia, 19 March (BTA)--The General Assembly of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences held today discussed the work of the Academy in 1985 and in the 8th five-year period (1981-1985). It paid special attention to the necessity for a rapid technological re-equipment of the institutes and the other scientific units. The General Assembly elected three new foreign members of the academy. These are Acad. Evgeniy Ivanovich Chazov, a cardiologist, deputy minister of Public Health of the USSR, Acad. Nikolay Nikolayevich Blokhin, an onkologist, president of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR and Prof. Paul Agenmueller, director of the Chemistry of Solids Laboratory in Bordeaux (France). [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1404 GMT 19 Mar 86 AU]

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AFRICAN TU CADRES TRAINED IN CSSR

AU141630 Prague PRACE in Czech 5 Mar 86 p 5

[Svatava Hodikova report on a roundtable discussion with trade unionists from Benin, Guinea, Congo, and Mali during their stay in the CSSR: "Valuable Experience"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Benin, Guinea, Congo, Mali. All these countries, which we rank among the developing countries, so far have a prevailingly underdeveloped agrarian production, and their industry is just beginning. The countries have to grapple with serious economic difficulties. They are rooted in the vestiges of colonial times, in the one-sided orientation of their economies toward satisfying the needs of former colonial powers, and thus also in their greater vulnerability that is connected with the consequences of the crisis which is now taking place in developed capitalist states.

The trade union organizations of these countries are participating to a great extent in resolving certain problems. Currently more than 20 of their officials are staying in Czechoslovakia. They are attending a course for middle trade union cadres, which is prepared by the Central Trade Union Council (URO) in cooperation with the Neratovice branch of the Antonin Zapotocky Trade Union School of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH). Thanks to the URO solidarity fund, these members of the National Trade Union of Benin's Working People (UNSTB), of the National Confederation of Guinean Working People (CNTG), of the Congo Trade Union Confederation (CSC), and of the National Union of Mali's Working People (UNTM) are able to expand their knowledge of trade union work and to become acquainted with the ROH's history and current tasks, with the most important moments in the activity of the international trade union movement, and with the life of Czechoslovak working people. We have used the African trade unionists' stay for a brief talk about the work of their trade union centrals and their most significant tasks. The talk was attended by heads of the delegations: Orfeu Challa from Benin, Mory Souare from Guinea, Clement Ampion from the Congo, and Mamadou Dpumbia from Mali [all names as published].

All participants in the talk concurrently affirmed that trade unionists belong to the most progressive strata of the African society. They realize very well that imperialism is striving to drive a wedge between the individual African states, in the spirit of the well-known slogan "divide and rule," in order to

influence them more easily and to exploit their natural and human resources. The participants underscored the need of trade union unity, which provides them with guarantees that they will not succumb to the pressure of reactionary forces. They expressed appreciation for the assistance granted to the African trade union movement by the trade unions in the socialist countries; and in this context they also expressed their thanks to the URO and to all Czechoslovak working people.

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CSO: 2400/227

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

U.S. DEMANDS USSR UN STAFF CUTS--New York, March 21 (CTK correspondent)--The decision of the United States as the host country of the United Nations to cut the staff of the missions of the Soviet Union, the Belorussian and the Ukrainian Soviet Republics in the UN is at sharp variance with international law and generally recognized principles of relations between states. This point was stressed today by head of Czechoslovakia's permanent mission in the UN Jaroslav Cesar at the UN Committee for relations with the host country. No provision of international law gives the host country the right to decide the staff members of permanent missions in the UN are not accredited to U.S. bodies but to the UN itself, Jaroslav Cesar stressed. He voiced concern that the hostile act is being enforced at a time when the world hopes for a turn for the better in the international situation. The desirable universality of the United Nations cannot undoubtedly be reached without increasing the number of the personnel accredited to the United Nations. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 2155 GMT 21 Mar 86 ID] /8918

CSO: 2020/104

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INCREASED ATTENTION TO ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS REPORTED

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German 12 Mar 86 pp 1-2

[Article datelined IWE Berlin, 12 Mar 86: "GDR Citizens Being Better Informed On Environmental Problems"]

[Text] Today, GDR citizens are being better informed about current environmental problems than they were a few years ago. For example, regional newspapers are carrying articles on local environmental protection more frequently, and persisting problems are not being glossed over. There is a general tendency to view environmental problems more realistically in the GDR media, although there is no discussion about the official environmental policy. The media cannot, however, avoid this topic, which is actively discussed by the population. The SED newspaper in Magdeburg, VOLKSSTIMME, recently conceded that environmental protection moved "a lot of people" in the GDR, as letters to the editor had made clear. In conjunction with this, the party paper posed questions on air and water pollution in the Magdeburg bezirk to Rolf Franke, the Magdeburg bezirk council member responsible for environmental protection. The state official responded that "no additional air pollution had taken place," despite considerable increases in production in recent years. He ascribed this to, among other reasons, the completion of various projects to reduce air pollution. For years to come, he announced "continuing measures": he referred to a "hazard analysis," which had come about "due to justified citizen demands." He said the aim of the anticipated measures was emissions "reduction, above all in the Magdeburg region and portions of the Wernigerode kreis." Moreover, maximum allowable emissions levels were set for additional factories, the observance of which was being enforced by sanctions, if necessary. In the words of the state official, it is also necessary to expend "greater efforts in building filtration plants," in order to lessen water pollution. Franke pointed out that more than 90 percent of Magdeburg bezirk residents draw drinking water from the central water supply, but that only 68 percent are piped into "the sewer system."

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CSO: 2300/269

POLITICS

POLAND

## MILITARY INSTITUTIONS GEAR UP FOR PZPR 10TH CONGRESS

### General Staff Party Organization Meeting

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 27 Jan 86 pp 1, 5

[Text] A methods-training course was conducted in the Polish Army General Staff for the first secretaries and party aktiv to discuss the tasks of the party organization during the pre-Congress campaign.

During the training the main attention was directed at the forms and methods of work, primarily the work of the party groups and executive boards of the primary party organizations in the pre-Congress campaign and later, in reporting on the elections.

As part of the effort to expand knowledge about the party, Col Jerzy Halaj discussed the main issues concerning the guiding, leading and hegemonistic role of the party in a society which is building socialism.

Next Col Henryk Stachowiak, representative of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army, discussed the main points of the pre-Congress campaign in the armed forces. He called particular attention to the goals and tasks of the Congress--the most important event in the country this year. He described the principal substantive and organizational endeavors which guarantee full implementation of the resolutions of the CC 33d Plenum and the guidelines of the PZPR CC Politburo in the party organizations of the Ministry of National Defense Headquarters. He also answered many questions put to him by those attending the training.

The intent and nature of the pre-Congress campaign in the General Staff party organization was discussed by the first secretary of the PZPR Committee, Col Tadeusz Balicki. He stressed the importance of the substantive and organizational preparation of the party groups and primary party organization, the discussions and talks with individuals, and the need to draw conclusions from them to improve activities within the party.

During the preparatory period, all party members and candidates are required to study the materials from the CC 33d Plenum, the PZPR program, and the Congress proposals. The need to relate the tasks described therein to the requirements and capabilities of the local surroundings and to the decisions

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and conclusions of the 13th National Conference on Efficient Management of the Armed Forces, mainly from the standpoint of the guidelines of the Minister of National Defense and the Polish Army Chief of Staff's speech, was emphasized.

#### Military Political Academy Meeting

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 27 Jan 86 pp 1, 5

[Text] A methods-training course was conducted at the F. Dzierzynski Military Political Academy to inaugurate the campaign preceding the PZPR 10th Congress in the party organizations of the Academy. The first secretaries of the executive boards of the primary party organization (PPO), party groups, and the deputy commanders of organizational-training detachments, attended.

The purpose of the training was to define tasks and prepare a schedule of activities to conform with the guidelines of the PZPR CC Politburo on conducting a pre-Congress campaign. Col Henryk Rutkowski, representative of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army, attended the training.

The sociopolitical determinants of the preparatory period for the 10th Congress were discussed by the deputy commander for political affairs of the Military Political Academy (MPA), Col Henryk Janusz. In describing the sociopolitical situation, he stressed the historical importance of the 10th Congress in the life of the party and all of society. The substance and assumptions of the party's draft program and the Congress' theses should not only form the basis of discussions at the meetings of the particular MPA PPO's, they should also closely relate to the entire teaching and upbringing process in the Academy and be incorporated in the lectures delivered in military and civilian circles.

The tasks of the MPA party organizations in the pre-Congress campaign were described by Col Ryszard Ros. He discussed the main goals and directions of the work of the particular PPO's and outlined a schedule of activities and methods of accomplishing the main task, which is to translate the Congress documents into a language of concrete endeavors for every party member.

A great deal of discussion was devoted to the development of a method of pre-Congress consultation which would broadly define, on many levels, the policies of the party, its historical achievements, and its program for further expansion, so that every party member could see his role and place in its implementation. This problem was also brought up in H. Rutkowski's speech emphasizing the role of the academy employees in all of the pre-Congress campaign activities outlined by the Polish Army Main Political Administration. He strongly emphasized the tasks which individual talks are to accomplish.

The main purpose of the talks is to learn how the party members feel about the problems which disturb them, the possibilities of individual input in the implementation of pre-Congress tasks, and initiatives in developing party activities. For the employees and students of the Academy an important goal of the talks is to determine the methods and forms by which the level and diversity of the forms of the teaching process may be improved, how scientific research can be increased, how the upbringing process can be strengthened, and how exertion of ideological influence can be expanded. The tasks facing



the Academy require greater effort on the part of PZPR members, employment of all reserves, and application of innovative solutions in all internal and external activities.

The first secretary of the PZPR MPA Academy Committee, Col Jan Gozdzik, in assessing the commitment of the cadre, students and civilian employees to date, as confirmed by the lively and to-the-point discussion, expressed the belief that the approaching 10th Congress will be the inspiration for development of party initiatives and enhancement of forms of activities on the part of all PZPR institutional organizations.

#### Briefing Sessions for Military Engineers

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jan 86 pp 1, 6

[Report by Col Wacław Przybysz on the pre-Congress activities of institutions under the Main Inspector of Engineering in the Polish Army]

[Text] During the course of preparations for the campaign preceding the 10th PZPR Congress, the political-party organ of the Main Inspector of Engineering conducted a methods-training course with the aktiv of the Primary Party Organizations (PPO) of the central engineering institutions. The training was aimed at preparing the first secretaries and members of the executive boards of the PPO and the party groups for implementation of tasks at all stages of the Congress campaign.

The training consisted of reports on the current political and economic situation in the country and a detailed discussion of the substance-and-methods side of the tasks to be accomplished during the pre-Congress campaign at the level of the PPO and the PZPR Committee of central institutions subordinate to the Main Inspector of Engineering in the Polish Army.

The socioeconomic problems of our country in the light of the draft PZPR program and the Congress' theses were discussed by Józef Walkowski, PZPR CC representative, who concentrated attention on the results of the last 3-year plan and on an economic interpretation of the anticipated course of the development of our economy over the next 5 years and the turn of the century.

In his speech, the head of the Political Department described the political and party tasks in the pre-Congress campaign in the engineering institutions, emphasizing a specific and two-directional method by which they can be accomplished. During the pre-Congress campaign, party members and candidates will thoroughly familiarize themselves with the PZPR program and the Congress theses. A critical evaluation of the party's work efficiency in these institutions will also be another important subject of discussion.

Col Stefan Nowak, first secretary of the PZPR committee for central engineering institutions in the Polish Army, described organizational and intraparty tasks connected with the elections of delegates to the conference.

In the discussion, the need to provide the best possible conditions and choose the most effective methods for accomplishing tasks in the central engineering

institutions was stressed. Comrades Teofil Rybarczyk, Edmund Zytynski, Wojciech Zemla, Eugeniusz Maul and Ludwik Stawowy said that the party groups must work more actively and that the suggestions submitted by party members during talks must be put to use to improve the efficiency of party work in the institutions.

#### Silesian Military District PZPR Activities

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Feb 86 pp 1, 7

[Reports by Capt St. Radziszewski and Zygmunt Szukaj]

[Text] The importance of the problems which will be discussed prior to the 10th PZPR Congress and settled by the Congress demands great involvement and efficient action on the part of all party organizations, echelons and members. The Silesian Military District party organization has done a great deal so that the pre-Congress meeting and party conferences can have the character of a working debate which will also be accompanied by fundamental criticism, self-criticism and a sense of responsibility on the part of its participants.

A meeting of the PZPR Silesian Military District Committee was held in the District Club in Wroclaw to specify the tasks for party organizations, echelons and members in the pre-Congress campaign. The meeting was conducted by the first secretary of the District Committee, Col Stanislaw Grzasko.

The basic subject of the pre-Congress discussion, he said in a report of the District Committee's executive board, will be the text of the PZPR draft program and the Congress theses. Guided by the decisions of the party's Central Committee, we will elect delegates at pre-Congress meetings and conferences to higher-level conferences and to the PZPR 10th Congress.

In specifying tasks for party organizations and echelons, the executive board report emphasized, this campaign should constitute a general ideological training of party members. It should assist in finding ways to strengthen the party's authority, social discipline, and the development of socialist democracy. Discussions of Congress materials should contribute to a better understanding by party members and soldiers who do not belong to the party of the conditions by which the party fulfills a leadership role in the state and a leading role in society.

The specific courses of action were defined by problems committees meeting in teams: party internal affairs, ideological, youth, the committee on meritorious party activists and for collaboration with social-action organizations and institutions.

The secretary of the PZPR District Committee, Col Witold Slowinski, reported on the Committee's program for 1986. The main thrust of activity of the district party echelon will be to strengthen the ideological cohesiveness of the party ranks and the leading role of the party in all areas of military life. The pre-Congress discussion and post-Congress activities should be conducted towards this end. The District Committee places great emphasis on strengthening ties and extending the party's ideological-upbringing influence on the young people. The measures undertaken jointly by the PZPR District Committee and the Youth Council should contribute to this.

The program for 1986 and the proposals prepared during the problems-teams discussions served to define the specific directions the work of the Silesian Military District party organizations and echelons would take in the pre-Congress campaign. The final resolution sets forth these directions.

Capt St. Radziszewski

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The program of the plenary meeting of the Polish Military Organization (PMO) Party Control Committee (PCC) was comprised of a summing-up of the year's activities, a review of the complaints, grievances and suggestions sent to higher echelons and how they were settled, and a listing of tasks for the campaign preceding the 10th PZPR Congress. Col Stefan Sielicki, chairman of the POW PCC, reviewed the committee's work during the past year, pointing to its involvement in shaping proper ethical and moral attitudes, discipline, and party responsibility, and its work among party members and candidates.

Lt Col Ryszard Bator assessed the committee's control activity. Inspections conducted in the tactical units show that party members are performing their statutory duties correctly. Improvement was noted in ideological leadership over the youth organization, party membership has grown, particularly in younger people, and forms and methods of ideological-training work have been expanded. PCC members in tactical units, officers schools and training centers take an active part in PPO meetings and are regularly cooperating with the command leadership and party committees.

Results of preventive work, which consistently improves the quality of party activities, are also worth noting. Problems in the style and method of party work relating to PPO meetings, which are inaugurating the pre-Congress campaign, were discussed by the PZPR PMO Committee secretary, Col Jozef Szymanski. He emphasized the need to constantly improve this work, and reminded of those elements of party work which cause particular concern to the committee and absorb the attention of the PCC.

Matters relating to better interpersonal relations. reports on social-welfare infractions and, increasingly, on housing, were examined by the PCC in the course of adjudication proceedings. As reported by Col Tadeusz Ryba, chief of the complaints and grievances department, they are also the subject of complaints addressed to higher PMO authorities. Most of them, after verification, are resolved positively. Colonel Sielicki then spoke about the cooperation of the PCC and the PMO complaints and grievances department.

During a discussion, in which Comrades Aleksy Kubiacyk, Tadeusz Orlowski and Jan Starczewski took part, specific examples were cited of the PCC's work in improving discipline and in shaping outlook. Tasks which members of the PMO PCC will undertake in the campaign preceding the 10th Congress, were also presented. Teams will be appointed to hold individual talks and attend PPO meetings devoted to discussions of the PZPR program and Congress theses. The meeting ended by approving the plan for this year's work.

Zygmunt Szukaj

POLITICS

POLAND

# DEMOCRATIC PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM ON PRESS LAW

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 1, Jan 86 p 17

[Text] On 14-15 November 1985, in the Warsaw Journalists Club, the 10th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party was held, with members of the Main Auditing Commission, the chief and local journalist courts, press spokesmen and chairmen of the association's chapters in attendance. The subject of the deliberations, which were conducted by Klemens Krzyzagorski, was the press law: experience and conclusions accumulated during the time that the law has been in effect (over 1 year), access to information, corrections, legal responsibility, and position on criticism and its effectiveness.

The following persons participated in the discussions: the director of the PZPR CC TV, Press and Radio Department, Bogdan Jachacz and his assistant, Stanislaw Glen; Minister Jerzy Urban; Minister Jan Brol; the vice chairman of the Main Office of the Control of the Press, Publishing and Public Performances, Marian Andrzejewski; the vice chairman of the Committee for Radio and TV, Wladyslaw Korczak; the assistant to the editor-in-chief of PAP, Zbigniew Klimas; and the director of the publishing department in the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Worker's Cooperative Publishing House, Marek Rosiecki.

An introductory paper was delivered by editor Jozef Krolikowski, member of the Presidium of the Democratic Party's Central Committee and chairman of the Press Council. The text of the paper, an unofficial summary of the discussion, and the speeches made by Ministers Jan Brol and Jerzy Urban are published below.

The agenda also included a discussion on another version of the draft law on training journalism cadres, prepared since the Seventh Plenum of the Democratic Party's Central Committee in December 1984. The chairman of the committee preparing the draft law, editor Zdzislaw Jastrzebski, suggested two possibilities: a review discussion or submission of corrections to the draft, sent to the participants of the plenum earlier. The latter form was chosen. Corrections to the draft were submitted by docent Bogdan Michalski and editors Jan Werner, Klemens Krzyzagorski, and Andrzej Czalbowski. After a discussion of the corrections, the plenum passed a resolution on journalism training, thanking the committee for its long and arduous work. The text of the

resolution and the rules for the social campaign fund which were approved by the plenum, are published on pp 31-33.

The general secretary of the association, editor Andrzej Maslankiewicz, reported on the Warsaw advisory conference of the managements of journalism unions in the socialist countries (more on this conference in the first part of this issue).

The plenum heard a report by editor Edmund Tulka on the establishment of a Literature and Press Museum in Lodz. Chairman Klemens Krzyzagorski, in describing the future museum as a center of great importance and usefulness to the entire journalism community, said that the presidium will pass a resolution on this matter after it receives all of the literature on this center.

The problem of poor attendance at plenary meetings was raised. It was decided that the presidium will inform the association's chapters of members who represent these chapters but do not take part in the work of the Central Committee.

It was agreed that the next plenary meeting of the Central Committee will be postponed to January 1986.

The deliberations were summed up by Klemens Krzyzagorski who reported that starting with the next plenum, information on financial-welfare matters of the journalism community will be furnished on a regular basis. He also said that the first step towards construction of a Veterans Home, which will also contain a training center, has been taken. A committee appointed by the plenum to be in charge of this project has already set up an account for the collection of funds. The next step will be to obtain a site.

In ending, K. Krzyzagorski reminded that the 10th Party Congress is drawing near. Our voice in the pre-Congress campaign, he said, may pertain to matters covered by the Ninth Congress resolution on issues of our profession, including implementation of those points which refer to equipping the mass media with modern technical equipment.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PRESS ACTIVITIES CALENDAR: 3-30 NOVEMBER 1985

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 1, Jan 86 pp 54-58

[Excerpts] 3-5 November 1985

A conference of the leaderships of journalist organizations in the socialist countries was held along with a meeting of the expanded secretariat of the International Journalists Organization, organized by the Executive Committee of the Polish Journalists Association. A report on this conference is published on the front page of this issue.

4 November

Zygmunt Marciniak has been appointed assistant editor-in-chief of NURT.

5 November

The Warsaw Factory Journalists Club of the SD organized a meeting in the headquarters of the PZPR Warsaw Committee. The agenda was as follows: A report by the Warsaw Committee representative on the situation after the elections, a discussion of student internship on the editorial staffs of Warsaw factory newspapers, a discussion of a competition for the Warsaw factory press and the Provincial Technology and Rationalization Club.

11 November

A joint meeting of the Central Committee for PZPR, ZSL and SD Cooperation and the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) National Council was held in the offices of the PRON National Council. Representatives of the PZPR Provincial Committee leadership, the Warsaw University Journalism Institute, and the technology and rationalization club, attended the meeting.

11 November

The SD Sociolegal Journalists Club met with Deputy Minister for Justice Jan Brol in the offices of the Association of Polish Lawyers in Warsaw on the subject: "Problems and Prospects for Legislative Work in the Light of Judicial Law."

13 November

A meeting of the governing body and executive board of the PZPR CC Primary Party Organization Organ TRYBUNA LUDU was held in connection with the assumption of the position of editor-in-chief of this newspaper by Jerzy

Majka, in accordance with the decision of the CC 22d Plenum. At the meeting, Jan Glowczyk, PZPR CC secretary and Politburo member, wished Mr. Majka fruitful work in this responsible assignment. Glowczyk thanked the former editor-in-chief, Wieslaw Bek, for his many years of energetic work in managing the PZPR's central organ and wished him success in further responsible work in the service of the state.

#### 13 November

A seminar for judges of journalist courts and press spokesmen was held in the Warsaw Journalists House. The seminar was organized by the Journalism Supreme Court, the Main Council of Journalism Spokesmen and the SD Journalism Center. The following subjects were discussed: Problems of press law, preliminary proceedings conducted by the spokesman, judicial proceedings in a journalism court, and some problems concerning the journalism council and center. The seminar's guest in the portion dealing with press law was Judge Lucia Korozs from the Ministry of Justice Law Department.

#### 13-15 November

The SD Aviation Journalists Club, together with the Aviation Troops Command and the SD Journalism Center, organized a session in Olesnica on the subject: "The Role and Tasks of the Engineering Service in Today's Military Aviation. During the session the club members learned the traditions of the Gen W. Wroblewski Aviation Troops School, one of the oldest technical colleges and the one which has contributed the most to Polish aviation. Meetings were held with the school authorities, lecturers and students, and with the soldiers performing their regular military service there.

#### 14 November

A plenary meeting of the Journalism Supreme Court was held in the Warsaw Journalists House. Reports were received on the work of the Supreme Court's work since the last plenary meeting and then matters brought up by the chairman of the Main Council of Journalism Spokesmen were addressed. Proposals stemming from a seminar held the day before were also discussed.

#### 14-15 November

The 10th Plenum of the SD Central Committee met in the Warsaw Journalists House. An extensive report of the meeting appears in the first section of this issue.

#### 15 November

Stanislaw Spyra has been appointed Berlin correspondent for PA Interpress.

#### 18-19 November

The SD "Friendship" Journalists Club held a meeting in Konin with Soviet journalists accredited to Poland. Experiences were exchanged and Polish-Soviet cooperation was discussed. Meetings were also held with the provincial party and management authorities, and visits were made to state farms and enterprises which collaborate with Soviet workplaces.

#### 18-23 November

The SD Central Committee, in collaboration with the SD Military-Defense Journalists Club, organized an international conference of socialist-country



journalists, held in the Warsaw Journalists House. The conference dealt with problems of patriotic and defense upbringing. The theme of the conference was: "The Role of Journalists in Strengthening the Security and Defense of Warsaw Pact Countries in the Face of Today's Threats." Delegations from military journalism clubs and sections from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania, Hungary, the Soviet Union and Poland participated. The meeting was opened by Wieslaw Bek, vice-president of the Polish Journalists Association. In welcoming those who came, Gen Bde (Prof) Leslaw Wojtasik, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, emphasized the importance of explanatory work, work which shapes society's awareness of defense. The papers read at the conference stressed that the journalism community in its daily work can greatly contribute to relaxation of tensions in Europe and the entire world, primarily through measures aimed at strengthening the solidarity and unity of the socialist states united by common interests in the peaceful building of socialism and communism.

On 20 November Gen Div Tadeusz Szacilo met with the chairmen of the delegations. The following took part in the meeting: Arion Solowiow (USSR), Iwan Sotirov (Bulgaria), Josef Vesely (Czechoslovakia), Jammer Dietmar (GDR, Leon Cristian (Romania), Jeno Kovacs (Hungary), and Stanislaw Reperowicz, host of the conference and president of the SD Military-Defense Journalists Club. General Szacilo reported on the sociopolitical situation in Poland and the tasks of the armed forces. He spoke of the role of journalists who specialize in military problems and popularize patriotic and defense themes among the people of socialist states.

#### 21 November

The SD Polonia Club held a meeting in the Warsaw Journalists House with the deputy secretary general of the Association for Liaison with the Poles Abroad (Polonia), Zbigniew Tomkowski, and the director of the Polonia Club's science and education department, Ryszard Kurek. The Club's guests spoke of 30 years of cooperation with Polonia communities in the field of science and education.

#### 24 November

The Hall of Mirrors in the Staszic Palace in Warsaw was the site of ceremonies during which the annual Wlodzimierz Pietrzak prizes, awarded by the PAX Association and the PAX Publishing Institute, were handed out. Those receiving prizes were: In the field of science, Prof Alfons Klafkowski and Prof Wladyslaw Piwowarski; literature, Leslaw Bartelski; arts, Henryk Czyz; special, Leopold Gluck, Jedrzej Tucholski and the staff of KIERUNKI weekly; young people, Zbigniew Borowik, Andrzej Kunert, Janusz Miliszkiewicz and Ladyslaw Piasecki; foreign countries, Julien Green (France) and Ferenc Magyar (Hungary).

#### 25 November

The Executive Committee of the National Council for the Arts discussed the draft plan of the Central Arts Development Fund for 1986. This fund amounts to approximately 63 million zlotys, while the needs of the province have been estimated at 75 million zlotys. Therefore, a decision was made to apply for an increase in the deduction from the tax on salaries (from which this fund derives its money) to 15 percent, and that revenues from other sources, e.g., from enterprise surpluses or the factory social fund, be increased. Matters

dealing with cinematography, whose funds have been reduced by the amount of profit derived from lucrative films, were also discussed.

25-29 November

In Serock near Warsaw the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Worker's Cooperative Publishing House Personnel Training Center held a seminar for factory newspaper journalists. The program was prepared by the Trade Unions [legal successor of Solidarity] and the SD Factory Journalists Club. The topics discussed at the seminar, which was attended by almost 80 editors-in-chief of factory newspapers, included the present social and political situation and predictions as to further developments, selected ideological problems in the area of economics and sociology, the current and future operations of trade unions, the principles (and difficulties) of applying economic reform in workplaces, and the press law. Those who presented papers and spoke included: Romuald Sosnowski, Trade Unions deputy chairman; Dr Jan Brol, deputy minister of justice; and Prof Adam Graczynski, deputy minister in the Office of Scientific Advancements and Applications. There was also a meeting with the secretary of the executive committee of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship, Dr Boleslaw Borysiuk, and at the end of the seminar with the assistant director of the PZPR CC Press, Radio, and TV Department, Dr Jerzy Slabicki. After the seminar there was a meeting of the members of the SD Factory Journalists Club, at which the important problems of this community were discussed. As a result of the discussion, it was decided that a training workshop, indispensable for persons who have recently taken jobs on factory newspapers, would be set up in the next few months.

26 November

The SD Polish Club for International Journalism held a reception in the Warsaw Journalists House for a group of journalists--members of the Geneva Summit Talks press service. Editor Marian Podkowinski, club president, was host.

26-27 November

An international seminar of journalists from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the USSR, and Poland, was held in the Warsaw Journalists House. The seminar topic was: "The Role of Journalists in Strengthening Friendship and Cooperation Between Socialist States." The seminar was organized by the SD Central Committee.

26-28 November

A national conference of delegates of senior journalist groups was held in the Warsaw Journalists House. These groups exist in 12 SD chapters and are being formed in the remaining chapters. The vice president of the Association, Florian Dluzak, and the Central Committee secretary, Andrzej Czalbowski, took part in the conference. It was ascertained during the discussion that the atmosphere in the association at this time is favorable to activities by older journalists, to whom the central committee gives considerable assistance. Many worthwhile proposals have been submitted which can be implemented more efficiently by the work of older journalists in the community--in Warsaw and the outlying areas. At the conclusion of the conference, a Council of Senior Journalists Groups was elected. It is composed of the following colleagues: Jerzy Alukiewicz (Kielce), Maria Badner-Brzezicka (Katowice), Mariusz Gagola (Opole), Wlodzimierz Goszczynski (Warsaw)--council chairman, Elzbieta Gorska

(Bydgoszcz), Henryka Hussak (Warsaw), Witold Jozwiak (Poznan), Jerzy Kozicki (Lublin), Irena Kozielska (Krakow), Jerzy Kuryluk (Warsaw), Zygmunt Krogulski (Katowice)--member of the council presidium, Gustaw Markun (Lodz)--member of the council presidium, Jerzy Mirecki (Warsaw)--council secretary, Alojzy Meclewski (Gdansk), Alicja Olczykowa (Katowice), Barbara Olszewska (Warsaw)--member of the council presidium, Tadeusz Olszewski (Krakow), Zbigniew Porebski (Koszalin), Tadeusz Rek (Szczecin), Marian Skarbek (Zielona Gora), Teodor Smielowski (Poznan), Zdzislaw Stanczak (Warsaw), Maria Truskolaska (Gdansk), Jozef Tulasiewicz (Poznan)--council vice chairman, Leonarda Tykocka (Warsaw), Krzysztof Wojtowicz (Bialystok), Zygmunt Wojtowicz (Rzeszow), Tadeusz Wysocki (Warsaw)--member of the council presidium, and Longin Zabielski (Wroclaw).

28 November

The SD Club for Journalists Abroad held another meeting in the series: "How To Speak and Write for Students and Readers Abroad." The meeting was held in the Warsaw Journalists House. Major Wieslaw Gornicki and the director general of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Jerzy Kapuscinski, were guests of the club.

29 November

The chairman of the PRON National Council, Jan Dobraczynski, received representatives of the SD Philosophical Journalism Club, including its chairman, Boguslaw Czarminski. Dobraczynski acquainted himself with the work of the club and called attention to the fact that its existence is an important exemplification of the process of national conciliation, and that implementation of the plans presented will increase understanding and expand PRON's range of influence.

29 November

The SD Sociolegal Journalists Club, together with the editorial staff of the periodical CZLOWIEK I SWIATOPOGLAD [a philosophical journal], held a meeting in the Warsaw Journalists House on the subject: "Drug Addiction--The Law and Medicine. Sins of the Press?"

30 November

Marek Regel was relieved of his position as Berlin correspondent of PA Interpress.

30 November

Antoni Szumanowski was relieved, at his request, of the position of assistant editor-in-chief of MOTOR.

In November 1985

A new periodical, REPORTER, appeared, published by PA Interpress. "This issue of REPORTER is the first attempt--undoubtedly not perfect--to react to the news of the world. We are also planning further issues. Interpress has a large network of foreign and domestic correspondents. We want to be everywhere that our readers would like to be and where we can reach," says REPORTER's editor-in-chief, Wojciech Pielecki.

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POLITICS

POLAND

SELECTED FLOOR DEBATE STATEMENTS FROM 23D PLENUM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Dec 85 p 5

[Statements by Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Social-Occupational Section of the Central Committee; Mieczyslaw Grabowski, member of the Central Committee, robot moulder at the ball-bearing factory in Krasnik, Lublin Voivodship; Ryszard Kucharski, member of the Central Committee, First Factory Secretary at the Automobile Factory in Warsaw; Kazimierz Morawski, Chairman of the Central Review Commission; Eugeniusz Mroz, member of the Central Committee, First Secretary of the Opole Voivodship Committee; Jozef Obarowski, member of the Central Committee, retired foreman at the Polish State Railroad Locomotive Works Bydgoszcz-Eastern Station; Kazimierz Stec, member of the Central Committee, officer of the Polish Army, Head of Wroclaw Military Headquarters; Jerzy Wilk, First Secretary of the Legnica Voivodship Committee: "Plenum Discussion"]

[Text] Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Social-Occupational Section of the Central Committee:

Poland's beginning development, implementation of economic reform requires a change in people's attitudes, especially their attitude toward work and its products, breaking their passiveness, commitment to progress and innovation, efficiency and hard work. The major responsibility of the party, the unions, self-managements, of everyone desiring development and progress in the enterprises is restoring the work ethic.

The self-managements and unions, as the largest mass organizations of the workers, have a large educational role to play among the workers. They can be an authentic school of management permitting the workers to participate in decisions on the direction of enterprises' development, working conditions, wages, and social services, a school teaching economy, employee responsibility for economic results and enterprise efficiency. Cooperation by these two partners in working-class democracy when they follow the overriding goal of the social interest, when the immediate and long term interests of the workers are combined and the defense of the workers' rights and interests are joined with care for increased efficiency and productivity.

The broad competencies of the self-managements and trade unions are not being fully exploited, as our analyses confirm. Thus, the self-managements and union are a potential source of strength which must be activated to carry progress and productivity forward.

In many enterprises the self-managements' resolutions aim to improve productivity, supporting wage systems related to productivity, saving raw materials, fuels, and energy. They are, however, not a strong social movement directed toward improving productivity. The trade unions also possess the requisite resources to engage themselves energetically in the economy, supporting economic reform, development, and promoting labor competition.

Some self-managements and unions are still seeking the employee's applause through resistance. Surely, they must be sensitive to human suffering and difficult living conditions. But they must primarily take into account the realities and stand for a just distribution of what there is. A good manager thinks not only of today but especially about the future, about raising his own productivity. I think the slogan "be a good manager" could be the centerpiece of a promotional campaign in the workplace.

Mieczyslaw Grabowski, member of the Central Committee, robot mounter at the ball-bearing factory in Krasnik, Lublin Voivodship:

Among all of the factory party organization's activities, we emphasize its working-class character. Of the 25 candidates admitted this year, 22 are workers younger than 30 years of age. The factory committee with increasing frequency consults the workers about its actions, and they have great influence on its decisions. Worker representatives are participating with increasing frequency in problem commissions and emergency groups.

In light of the "Main Premises of PZPR Personnel Policy," work with the factory management has assumed increased significance. In implementing the resolution of the 13th Central Committee Plenum we had positive results, but continually have trouble with creating new precedence setting solutions. I have the impression that personnel policy is relegated to a secondary level behind economic problems and the race for profits. Everyone from laborer to director must implement the "Main Premises" not just the factory committee and the personnel department.

Every personnel decision is a political decision. Thus, the managers must display discipline, stubbornness, and consistency in implementing the policy of the socialist state and initiative in finding the best solutions.

The sociopolitical situation in the ball bearing factory has stabilized. The new wage system introduced on 1 November 1985 has helped greatly. Despite economic problems, the factory will exceed its plan for 1985.

Ryszard Kucharski, member of the Central Committee, First Factory Secretary at the Automobile Factory in Warsaw:

The party aktiv and members are already interested in the organizational and program problems of the preparations for the party congress. Our aktiv expects it will be able to present a party program drawn up by the Central Committee that lays out how we will deal with our country's and society's problems over the next five years and in the future. This program should contain a vision of the development of Poland in 1990-2000 based on scientific studies. We also expect a summary of the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and an evaluation of the implementation of the most important PZPR party statutes.

A significant portion of the aktiv already knows the initial proposed delegate election forms for the 10th Congress. Opinion is quite varied, but one issue has awakened stern opposition. We should not change the tradition of having conferences of the party organizations in large factories that constitute large concentrations of workers select delegates in addition to those selected by voivodship conferences.

I suggest the Central Committee examine thoroughly the selection procedure for delegates to the 10th Congress, because abandoning direct selection in large worker organizations would be regarded a deviation from an important principle of internal party democracy.

Kazimierz Morawski, chairman Central Revision Committee:

We must seek new unconventional, innovative methods of party control of the economy, appropriate to the new situation created by the reform. The role of the party as a forum for integrating the various socioeconomic units has also increased. Action to create a favorable climate for these goals have acquired increased significance. None of this should lead to a weakening of the leading role of the party. There has been an increase in the number of basic party organizations taking new program initiatives to promote the effectiveness of party actions on the economy. Given the generally positive evaluation of the majority of the voivodship organizations reviewed, the work front of basic party organizations must be equalized, especially that of factory committees. Still only the upper party hierarchy has a broad knowledge of the economic tasks. The party organizations are not the only ones in an enterprise responsible for implementing the resolutions of the central party authorities. However, the incomplete commitment of many of the factory organizations surely causes much of the insufficient progress in implementing the resolutions of the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee such as the introduction of effective motivation schemes, innovation, increasing efficiency, competitiveness and outstanding worker programs, quality work by the price and cost sections, strengthening the role of internal inspections.

Investigations done by the Central Review Commission have shown the variation in implementing these resolutions is not usually caused by objective problems. Such problems cannot explain why one rural township has done nothing to implement the 18th Plenum resolutions while in another broadly conceived action has begun.

This can only be explained in one way: There is variation in the party members', aktivs', and workers' preparation in economic affairs. These are mainly subjective conditions which can be altered. The variation in party organizations'



and members' level of activity also results from a distorted understanding of the party's role in the economy, that calls for the party to formulate policy and translate it into state decisions.

After this plenum we must take up at all levels of the party the problem of effective methods of action by party organizations on the character, course, and results of production.

Eugeniusz Mroz, member of the Central Committee, First Secretary of the Opole Voivodship Committee:

Among the goals of the Central Annual Plan for 1986 satisfying peoples needs for food and restoring market equilibrium are central as they have been in other recent plans. During the last 2 years we have made significant progress in this area in the Opole voivodship and nationally. The party's promotional actions toward equilibrium cannot, however, produce the required results, if the economic factors of supply and demand, especially wages, are ineffective. As yet the reform has proved ineffective, worse it has been harmful. Studies conducted by the voivodship committee in Kedzierzyn-Koziel of the relations of production to wages in 1983-85 confirm the improprieties. The basic conclusions are disturbing: first, wages have tended to level out without any correlation with results; second, there is no relationship between economic units' production and the average wage level; third, wages in consumer industries have risen more slowly than in producer-goods and supply industries. Only the size of the workforce shows a strong correlation with average wage levels. These examples illustrate how urgent the need for economic instruments to remove these irregularities are. The strengthening ideologically and organizationally of all of the PZPR units should promote economic intensification. We should be able to strengthen them during the reporting and election campaign leading up to the congress. Only a strong, effectively organized party can unlock the reserves in the economy. Society expects this from us, and in this light it will judge the party's accomplishments between congresses and in the future.

Jozef Obarowski, member of the Central Committee, retired foreman at the Polish State Railroad Locomotive Works Bydgoszcz-Eastern Station:

The low quality of supplies and raw materials in part causes production to be material-intensive. This leads to consumption of raw materials above norms, including energy, but it cannot explain poor quality. Studies in the Bydgoszcz voivodship show only 30 percent of the product faults result from the quality of supplies and raw materials. But the social costs of poor quality are growing. The market undersupplied in many items leads many producers of washing machines, refrigerators, home appliances, etc., to completely neglect quality control. Regardless of the future of those baubles the raw materials have been wasted. Poor quality must be combated, and here significant reserves are hiding. Given limited access to raw materials, supplies, and energy and a stagnant employment level, we must achieve no small economic task in the coming 5 years. It will require, given the exhaustion of simple reserves, tapping previously unused sources. During these years we must increase the rate of technical innovation in the enterprises. It is essential that we prevent the decapitalization of our fixed capital through modernization, automatization, and robotization. This is the most important area of investment.



The changes in the economic and financial methods should aim to prefer the development of enterprises operating in an intensive manner. We must cease supporting bad enterprises that operate inefficiently and at a loss with rate reductions, and exceptions. We should reduce the distribution of supplies and raw materials through commands. The creation of superenterprises covering whole branches of the economy also harms the reform and impairs the economy.

Kazimierz Stec, member of the Central Committee, officer of the Polish Army, Head of Wroclaw Military Headquarters:

At the Wroclaw Voivodship Committee plenum on 18 December 1985 the secretary said: "This December the factories and enterprises took 11 days off from work." At one of the Central Committee meetings someone noted that in 1984 enterprises took seven to nine days off. This repeats a poor page in our history and not just in Wroclaw. If we do not prevent it, we may see 13 to 14 days in 1986. I believe this approach is caused by a bad interpretation of the law or its performative regulations. I cannot believe the supervisors, directors, chairmen, or self-managements created comfortable regulations for themselves. Perhaps because they had fulfilled the plan, they felt they could take the time off.

I am convinced that our socialist state's needs must force resolution of this problem. The economy is after all based on issues and problems in various branches of industry, for example, mining, energy, semi-finished products, etc. Somewhere there is a gap--a loop hole in the regulations or law. It angers the workers of those factories that due to faults of others they cannot and will not fulfill their monthly and annual plans.

Jerzy Wilk, First Secretary of the Legnica Voivodship Committee:

In recent years a change in the views toward and methods of party work has occurred in range, forms, and methods of acting on the economy. In general there is agreement that the party should inspire, set goals, and control their achievement. Can the party restrict its economic role to these three basic functions as the radical reformers desire? Personally, I believe in our socioeconomic conditions we may not only be justified but forced to intrude in economic decisions and organizing society to complete them. If we consider the proven view that economics, ideology, and politics are one, the connection of the social and the economic, then it is unthinkable that some should deal with economic issues and others with political ones.

Our party, in order to fulfill its leading role must first know how to express the general interest and establish goals and second create a favorable environment for the achievement. As we know, this is not always the case. Some enterprises set their interests above society's. This shows the weakness of the leadership of the basic party organizations in these enterprises, which is incapable of defending society's interests. The reform cannot be a smoke screen for limiting the party's economic role. I believe the party-economy issue should be featured in the program for the 10th Congress and be the basis of a constructive discussion.

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POLITICS

POLAND

#### CHANGES IN RURAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS NOTED

Warsaw WIES WSPOLCZESNA in Polish No 7, Jul 85 pp 66-77

[Article by Barbara Tryfan: "Democratization of Family Relationships in the Rural Areas"]

[Text] Postwar economic and political changes in Poland and their accompanying social and technical transformations also brought changes in rural family life. The process of cultural transformations in the farming communities got underway. This is changing the position of the rural woman and a more egalitarian model of marriage is appearing. But the changes in customs and culture did not occur rapidly or without conflict. The slower rate of change in the countryside, as compared with the urban areas, was attributed to the difference in the starting point--an entire epoch separated the countryside from the city during the period between the wars and in 1945. The direction of these changes was also set by fact that the small-scale commodity peasant production did not keep pace with the world expansion of agriculture. Material changes occurred more rapidly than changes in awareness, in viewpoints, customs, the entire complex psychosocial structure of women in the rural communities.

Nevertheless, it must be said that during 1945-1985 changes in the quality of family relations in the countryside occurred, and in the last 10 years this process intensified.

Jozef Chalasinski, who died several years ago, in his introduction to the first volume of "Diaries of Rural Youth," wrote as follows: If the countryside played a service and nonautonomous part at all in the old class structure, then historical and folk tradition defined the rural woman, even more than the man, as a nonautonomous being, a home being, whose life was to proceed down a blind alley, far from the big trail of the nation's history (1).

The ranking of prestige in the peasant farm's family group was traditionally established according to usefulness on the farm and to the title deed--ownership. Because the man always did what was regarded as the most important work, he was the official owner of the farm and the head of the family. He had a privileged position. Without his permission his wife could not sell any of the stock, even that which she brought with her as dowry. The inequality

of social position was plain in social and ceremonial settings. Guests and neighbors, when entering the house, greeted the husband first. He received the best part of the meal. In some parts of the country there was even the custom that the wife ate separately. When the couple went to the market or to church, the husband usually walked ahead of his wife. The differences in the way the sexes were perceived by society appeared at the very moment of the child's birth. Before the christening ceremony the father threw money into the infant's first bath, the sum depending on the sex, thus a daughter received only half as much (2).

The establishment of egalitarian relations between spouses, and next between parents and their children, occurred first in the city. In the rural family this took place much later.

To better describe the problem of partnership in the rural family, we will cite some examples. The first of these is the manner in which marriages were entered into in those days.

Traditionally, peasant marriages took place, as a rule, after family, economic and community interests were considered (3). They were a kind of commercial transaction, in which practical considerations played the main role (4). The patriarchal peasant family did not resemble a free union of two individuals, based on common desires, interests, on emotional commitment, on conscious selection. And although these restrictions and limitations also applied to a large degree to men, in the traditional model of marriage the particularly painful and humiliating role fell to the woman. The socioeconomic changes taking place in our country made the effects of property factors less significant in rural family relationships. Thanks to closer contacts with the urban areas, nonfarming employment and the mass media, not only are the rural areas assuming an urban image, they are also taking on a new set of values, in which emotional factors play an important part (5).

The legal and social status of the rural woman entering into marriage has improved. This is shown, for example, by the choice of spouses, which is no longer based on the similarity of the size of the farms of both families. Parental compulsion no longer plays a part in marriages. The weakening of parental authority is shown in the fact that the age of many newlyweds is lower and that the age difference between spouses has decreased. When the parents chose the husband, they tried to select one who was established and of the old school. Male hegemony, so typical of patriarchal families, was thus replaced by cooperation and joint decisionmaking.

The next change apparent in family relations is in the procreational function of the family. In previous generations the Polish peasant family had a large number of progeny (6). This was one of the main causes of female misery--the extreme burden of maternal duties. In this respect, the situation during 1945-1985 gradually changed, thanks to changes in the social structure in the rural areas, improvement in economic conditions, and the law on abortion, but primarily as a result of the dissemination of information on birth control (7). The laws now give the woman the right to decide how many children she will have, a right which the rural women are also taking advantage of,

although family planning, meaning the number of offspring and their spacing, is a relatively new phenomenon in the countryside (8).

Therefore, the evolution of the procreational function of the rural family is based on the introduction of birth control into the family. Rural women try to adapt the desired number of children to their own family circumstances (9).

The striving to limit the number of offspring is closely linked to the family's aspirations. The family wants to improve its standard of living and attaches great importance to educating its children. Today's rural family tries to provide its children with better living conditions. The following rule is now being applied: fewer children, but because of that, a better existence (10).

The tendency to limit the number of children together with a growth of affluence is a relatively new phenomenon in the Polish countryside. Before the war and during the first 10 years after the war there was a positive correlation between the size of the farm and the number of children born. This was the result of the need for more hands to work on the large farms, but it was also the result of earlier marriages among these families, hence a longer married life. With respect to the procreational function, this aspect differentiated the rural family from families in other communities, where the growth of affluence had a hampering effect on the birth rate (11).

We now see that the models of rural and urban life are becoming more and more alike. The decline in the birth rate in the rural areas is no longer being examined only in terms of the economy, but also in biological and moral terms. Such factors as the law on abortion, the availability of contraceptives, the preventive actions of medical clinics, and the educational role of the Society for Family Development, have played a large part. But most important are the deep socioeconomic transformations occurring in the Polish countryside. The striving to satisfy not just the elementary but the expanded and steadily growing needs is responsible for the fact that birth control is becoming more popular in the rural communities, and this is a clear sign that family life is becoming more democratic.

The drop in the number of children in rural families is not the same in all socio-occupational groups. It varies with sexual practices, with differing views on the function of a family, with the level of medical care, and with the constraints of philosophical factors.

In family planning, the differentiating factor is the age of the women. Differences in the fertility of rural and urban women in the youngest age group are insignificant, but above age 40 they are almost threefold.

The factor which most strongly differentiates the number of children born is education. Because urban women are still always better educated, the average number of live births per married woman in the city is lower. In the rural communities differences in number of children are also clearly related to the mother's level of education. The average birth rate for rural women who did

not finish elementary school is 3.73, while the birth rate for those who had a higher education is only 1.43 (12).

The third area of family life in which the process of democratization is taking place is the upbringing function. In the traditional peasant family, this function was fulfilled simply to the extent that it satisfied the requirement of maintaining the farm, protecting its interest and its permanence. Farm and family unity shaped the upbringing model. The upbringing ideal was determined by the farm and by life in the local community. This, in a very unequivocal and consistent way, delineated the position of the family members. At the top of the hierarchy was the father, who was the owner of the farm and who handled the money. Next came the mother, and only then the children. This upbringing ideal was realized by preparation for the role as head (male or female) of the household, and as a member of the local community (13). The upbringing ideal, shaped with the thought that the continuity of generations must be maintained, was quite uniform; it embodied a set of attributes indispensable to the functioning of the patriarchal peasant family, united in joint work on the farm which was the source of income and security (14).

The influence of the mass media, industry, urbanization, migration to the city--all of which were conducive to cultural unification--broke the hierarchy of standards, customs, principles and social prestige. Ultimately it brought about democratization--more equal treatment of family members regardless of age.

The Polish Academy of Sciences Institute for Development of Rural Areas and Agriculture and the National Union of Farmers and Farm Circles and Organizations, in order to determine the views of women on the rural family's upbringing models, conducted a survey.

An inventory was made of children's traits, as reported by today's mothers, and they were ranked in three groups. Most of the rural women expressed the view that today's rural children, in comparison with children of the same age in previous generations, were less thrifty, diligent, obedient and religious (these are traits linked with the traditional model of a patriarchal family), and do not accept orders or prohibitions uncritically. On the other hand, there is more partnership dialogue in the upbringing process. The question of equal treatment of children in relation to other family members is worth noting. There is agreement that in most cases rural children are not treated any worse than anyone else in the family. This indicates a very important change in the attitude toward children. In rural workers' and two-job families, 15 percent of the mothers said that the children are treated even better than other members of the family. This has been confirmed by other studies, which indicates that today's family is concerned about the child's physical and mental development, and that the child has the same rights as anyone else in the family group (15).

A fourth, rather specific aspect of the democratization of family relations, is divorce. In comparison with other highly developed countries, Poland has a relatively low divorce rate. In the rural areas, just as in the cities,

this rate is showing a rising tendency, but it is much lower. In 1980, there were 16 divorces per 1,000 people in the urban areas, compared with 4 in the countryside (16).

The farm family, despite all of the changes that are occurring, continues to show a greater unity than in other communities, because the life of a marriage is still dependent on property-ownership factors. Public opinion also plays a part in the indissolubility of marriages in the farm areas (17).

The divorce rate in and of itself is neither a positive nor a negative phenomenon. It must be examined within the entire complexity of conditions. It is true that it indicates a disintegration of the family and in this sense we can speak of its negative consequences. But at the same time, for many hopelessly troubled marriages and for marriages which for all purposes are dead, it is a good and desirable solution. Divorce in the rural areas may mean a release from the pressures of family ties and financial problems. The fact that both men and women (the latter more frequently) apply for divorce is particularly worthy of mention. Formerly the rural woman--submissive and subordinated to the authority of her husband or father--passively endured everything that fate had in store for her because she saw no other way out. She had to live wretchedly at the side of a partner often chosen for her by her parents. The fact that the rural woman can apply for a divorce, that she does not have to put up with a bad and humiliating situation, that she is able to live her own life, is something very new in customs and demonstrates that the position of husbands and wives is becoming similar.

The fifth aspect of the problem being examined is the division of authority in the family. Changes in this area stem from the taking of second jobs (nonfarming jobs) by the men and the development of vegetable-growing production, conducted mainly by the women. An increase in the authority of the women in the family thus occurs (18). This is not really the result of a change in attitudes and views, but the consequence of the economic situation. The woman, on the other hand, actually assumes the management of production in two-job households. The range of her authority and the decisions made by her becomes larger (19).

The principle of joint control in all matters, including matters of production, replaces the preferential authority of the husband, as has been the case up to now. The change from authority relations to more democratic and friendly relations occurs more easily in the urban and industrialized areas (20).

More and more often women are beginning to represent the family externally, signing contracts, and borrowing money. The growth of the woman's position is shown in the way the family's money is spent. Such decisions pertain to matters of work, rest, purchase of equipment and social life. Thus we can differentiate two "financial models" in the rural family. In families which support themselves entirely from farming, the money, as a rule, is held jointly. However, in peasant-worker families, the wife is more often the one who manages the money. And almost nowhere does the old custom prevail: the money being held by the oldest generation--the old father or mother--as was the case in patriarchal family arrangements.



The sixth area of assessment is household management. I want to devote a little more attention to it, making use of the results of a study conducted during 1976-1982 by the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute for Development of Rural Areas and Agriculture on the status of rural women in the social-change process.

In previous generations two worlds (the women's world, inside the home, and the men's world, outside the home), which represented two different systems of culture, separated the activities of the sexes. The woman took care of the yard and the house, and the husband, as a rule, did nothing in these two areas. The farm was the man's responsibility and the woman only helped. The care of the house is still the woman's domain today, but it must be said that men now perform many of the household tasks along with the wife, or even do some things themselves. Household tasks such as cooking, dishwashing, laundry, ironing, tidying-up, major housecleaning, and canning and preserving, are still done almost exclusively by women. The male participation here is completely sporadic. That is why the differences which occur between types of communities and types of households are very interesting. It seems that both in farm and nonfarm families husbands in rural areas which are close to the city perform more of these tasks. The differences here are two-, three- and even fourfold. Even greater differences are noted between types of families. In families which support themselves from nonfarm work, the participation of husbands in household tasks is several times greater than in farm families. Within this last group, the differentiation appears between purely farming households and two-job households. In analyzing the participation of husband and wife in household tasks, we would like to show how far the process of partnership relations in rural households has advanced. A division is appearing between tasks which are "typically" the woman's, and those which are "sooner" the man's. Women in rural households can, as a rule, check everything their husbands do.

Insofar as the participation of men in typically women's duties is concerned, the influence of the source of income and the distance from the city is very evident. In farm families the participation of husbands in these tasks is much smaller than in nonfarm families. The distance from the city is also a very strong differentiating factor in the participation of men in these tasks in nonfarm families, while it is weak or almost nonexistent in farm families. The highest partnership relationship exists in nonfarm families who live relatively close to the city, and the lowest is in families whose incomes are purely from farming. The distance from the city does not play a large part here. Laundry and ironing can be used as an example. In workers' households close to the city, 12 percent of the husbands help in these tasks, in workers' families far from the city, 3.1 percent, in farm families, 1.1 percent, and overall, 1.6 percent. The same observations apply to tidying-up, cooking and dishwashing.

The second group of tasks, such as major housecleaning, canning and preserving, and daily marketing, confirms this same tendency, except that distance from the city makes a difference not only in workers' families but in farm families also.



The third group of tasks, those regarded as "sooner" masculine, shapes up differently. They include: bringing in water, chopping wood, small repairs, and redecorating. Distance from the city and nonfarming income have no effect on the division of these tasks. Only in redecorating does the distance from the city play a part. In both types of households, husbands in rural areas close to the city participate twice as often in these tasks as do those in the distant areas.

Although household management is mainly the domain of the women, in the light of the collected data it can be said that men also participate in many tasks, either jointly with the wife or they even perform certain tasks alone. Women predominate in such tasks as cooking (70.6 percent), dishwashing (59.8 percent), laundry and ironing (68.5 percent), tidying-up (55.4 percent), major housecleaning (52.6 percent), and canning and preserving (66.0 percent).

We see, therefore, that even in these traditional women's tasks the wife has lost the "monopoly" and in the other tasks she does not predominate. This applies to bringing in water (14.7 percent), chopping wood and tending the fire in the stove (13.6 percent), small repairs (9.0 percent), and redecorating the house (16.0 percent). The wife's participation in these tasks is small for two reasons. First, as the installation of utilities in the rural areas proceeds, some of these tasks are no longer necessary. This applies, for example, to bringing in water, which does not occur in 43.6 percent of the households polled because piping exists, or chopping wood and tending the fire in the stove (which does not occur in 13.8 percent of the households). Second, carrying water and wood applies to more than just the household and is connected also with the farm (caring for the livestock, preparing their feed). Although nonfarm jobs put a greater burden on the women, which is especially evident in farm households, they also bring about a new distribution of labor in the household and in the functioning of the family.

In studies conducted years ago it was determined that the employment of men outside the farm has a one-sided effect on the growth of the women's duties both on the farm and in the home. It now appears that this factor does not operate uniformly. The periodic effect of industry on the evolution of the rural family plays a part in this. In the first phase of industrialization, the rural women bear the burden of taking care of the farm. This is called feminization of the profession. They also bear the burden of looking after the home, taking on the tasks traditionally performed by the husband or the children. On the other hand, in the second phase of industrialization, when, as a result of mechanization and the enormous improvement in household equipment, women can take nonfarming jobs, the division of labor in the family gradually approaches a partnership basis.

The women polled were asked whether they are satisfied with the division of labor in the home. The large majority (76.1 percent) replied in the affirmative.

Proceeding further, we can divide the farms into two groups: those that are exclusively agricultural, and the two-job farms. In this way we can determine how much the outside-the-farm job affects the partnership division of labor in

the home. We are also taking into account the people who do not own their own farm, dividing this group into those who live off their earnings in agriculture (in the public sector or in farm-servicing institutions) and those who live off the income from their nonfarm job.

The picture thus obtained allows us to say without any doubt that a weakening of ties with farming promotes a partnership relationship in the division of labor in the home. The participation of husbands in the performance of basic household tasks grows as ties with farming become looser. Purely farm, two-job households, living off farming but not owning a farm, and living off nonfarm incomes, represent successive stages in departure from the traditional model of attributing household tasks to women. This same tendency occurs in relation to the heaviest household tasks, which ordinarily are attributed exclusively to men.

It has been determined that the source of family income and the distance from the city play an important part insofar as the husband's participation in the performance of typically women's tasks is concerned. This participation is much greater in nonfarming families, and particularly those who live close to the city. The farm families do not react in the same degree to distance from an urban center. But insofar as the husband's participation in tasks not regarded as specifically women's is concerned, it is also greater in workers' families, and distance from the city is a differentiating factor in both types of families.

In general, as connections with family farming become more distant, the partnership division of labor in the home becomes greater. It is worth mentioning that as these connections become more distant, some household tasks disappear due to improvements in household facilities and equipment. The size of the farm owned also plays an indirect role. On the smaller farms, which are also often peasant-worker farms, husbands participate in household tasks more frequently.

The signs of a partnership division of labor in the home appear gradually in all types of families living in the countryside, and this has an influence on the woman's social status.

The attitudes of women on the participation of their husbands in household tasks are interesting. One of the questions in the poll asked: Are you satisfied with the division of labor in your home? Over 76 percent of the women said "yes", 16.9 percent expressed some doubt, and only 6.8 percent said they were definitely dissatisfied. The largest percentages of dissatisfied women were in the area that was most the industrialized and the one that was the most agricultural. It appears that totally different motivations operate in both of these areas. In the industrialized area, due to the operation of various factors, the level of women's aspirations is higher. There is, therefore, a large disparity between the stimulated needs of these women and the degree to which they are being satisfied. However, in the farm and conservation area, the objective reality does not provide a basis for dissatisfaction, and the burden on the women in the home is great.

The attitude of women to the husband's work in the home is shaped under the influence of industrialization and nonfarm income. In the industrialized areas a larger percentage of women want the husband to help out at home than in the farming areas, and half as many women believe that the husband should not concern himself with the home at all. Thus the loosening of ties with the family farm not only helps to establish a partnership relation in the division of household tasks between spouses, it also gives rise to partnership attitudes. We can thus speak of a conscious internalization of the norm.

Are there, in the opinion of the rural women, household tasks which a husband would be ashamed to perform? Of the respondents, 58 percent said that in their opinion there were no such tasks, 10 percent had no opinion, and 31.1 percent said that there were such tasks but did not define them. The fact that every third woman in all areas expresses the view that there are tasks which are reserved exclusively for women and which would make men look ridiculous, signals a problem in cultural determinants of rural-household models.

There is confirmation of the thesis that a loosening of ties with the family farm helps to shape positive attitudes towards partnership, an egalitarian division of duties in the home, and departure from the traditional principles of a strict division of tasks according to sex.

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In the second part of the article we would like to consider the position and role of the woman in the rural family in the future. We will precede this with a description of the actual legal status of the rural housewife, as established by the 1982 law on social security for private farmers, and its ramifications for the rural woman.

During the Decade for Women a number of laws were passed which advanced equal rights for rural women. The National Union of Farmers and Agricultural Clubs and Organizations played a large role in this process by submitting not only postulates in behalf of the women involved in farm production, but also specific proposals for solutions.

The basic standardizing law is the 1982 law on social security for private farmers. In this law, women farmers were granted entitlement to maternity leaves, sick benefits, and above all, to retirement pensions. This last issue deserves special discussion because the procedure by which this benefit was established is an example of the influence of public opinion on the shaping of a legal standard. Furthermore, the granting of pension rights is closely tied to women's greater activity in politics, primarily women of postproduction age, which is specific to agriculture.

Aside from partial attempts at legislative solutions in 1968, 1971 and 1974, in the form of standardization instruments dealing with the transfer of ownership of land in return for a pension, private farmers did not have pension rights until 1980. The 1977 law on retirement pensions for private farmers, which has been operative since 1980, granted them these rights. During the period between announcement of the draft of the law (February 1977) and passage of the law (October 1977), when consultations were being held with

the farmers on the its final form, a public opinion poll was conducted by the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute for the Development of Rural Areas and Agriculture to determine the degree of readiness of the countryside to accept this legislation.

One of the problems which was sharply discussed during the consultative meetings, in the farm press and in interviews, was that of women's rights.

In the draft law it was envisaged that the owner of the farm will receive the pension. The title deed to the farm was in the name of the man, regardless of the amount of labor contributed by other members of the family. It was understood, therefore, that women would be excluded from the retirement system, with the exception of those who farm by themselves and are the legal owners of the farm. Yet women play a very important part in Polish agriculture, not only as an auxiliary labor force, but also as persons who are actively employed full-time on the farm. To ignore them in the draft assumptions was regarded as a serious fault.

The farmers' postulates had already been somewhat stated in the 1977 law. This law provided that both spouses are jointly entitled to a pension, even though only one of them may have reached retirement age. If one of the spouses during the last 5 years before the farm was transferred to an heir or the state had not worked on this farm and was not a joint member of the household, the other spouse was entitled to the full amount of the pension. It was provided also, that at the application of one of the spouses, the pension could be divided into two equal parts. The division rule was to apply also to a situation in which one of the spouses was entitled to an annuity on the basis of other regulations. In the case of death of one of the spouses, the full amount of the pension was paid to the other one. In the draft, however, it was envisaged that when one person was entitled to a pension, a lesser amount would be paid (70 percent of the entire sum). Nor was it provided in the draft that the pension could be divided into two equal parts. In the law, in accordance with the farmers' postulates, the rights of both spouses were taken into account. But was this a recognition of the partnership of women in the farming profession?

The fact that a woman who wanted to obtain the right to half of her husband's pension had to file an application and take a series of other steps constituted an enormous hindrance. This was finally corrected in the 1982 law on social security to private farmers. This law also recognized the equal rights of women, awarding the pension to a person and not a farm. Until then, the law provided for one pension per farm. Since 1982, however, each person who works on a private farm, if he meets all of the requirements of age, duration of service, makes his payments and transfers the farm to an heir, is entitled to a pension.

It may thus be assumed that the 1982 law will advance the process of democratization of family relations. The fact that women are treated on a par with men insofar as retirement pension and health insurance for private farmers is concerned, should help to define their professional legal status, and as a consequence, promote the growth of their position in the family. On the other hand, granting women-farmers maternity leave brings their living

conditions closer to those of women working in other professions. The importance of this fact must be examined not only in economic terms, but in social terms also. This benefit will help to shape egalitarian attitudes towards rural mothers, who not only have a duty to produce progeny, but also have a right to receive assistance in bringing up these progeny.

In light of the results of empirical studies and analysis of secondary scientific publications, it may be said that today's Polish family is approaching a partnership model. This same tendency occurs also in the rural community, although many social barriers impede the egalitarian process in family relations. Such issues as how marriages are entered into, divorces in the countryside, attitudes towards unmarried mothers, birth control, attitudes of the community towards women in government and socioeconomic organizations--these are only part of a long list of topics which deserve close examination.

Still in the past century, Ludwik Krzywicki wrote that woman gives life, in most cases even against her own will. Despite the fact that laws have made her equal from the standpoint of rights, and the systematically but slowly expanding system of welfare services, social institutions, and technical equipment is aimed at making her equal from the standpoint of duties, there is still a large gap between the law and its implementation, between the norm and how it functions.

It is true that the fate of the woman in the village no longer depends entirely on whether she finds a good husband. But no longer does she have to sell her emotions, loyalty and attachment in return for an acre of land transferred in a notary's office. No longer does she have to lose her hopes, dreams and life's opportunities in return for an acre of land which her father cannot offer in dowry. But at the same time, free choice does not ensure success in marriage.

Twenty-five years ago L. Krzywicki, in writing about the rural woman, said that the center of gravity must be shifted away from matters foreign to her, from objective relations to her own personal development. Despite the profound and comprehensive changes which have taken place in Poland relative to the rural woman, the struggle for personal freedom, for the greatest abundance and diversity of personal impressions, for the freedom to have charge of her own feelings and person, for possession of her own assets which would make her independent of the will of others (22), has not yet been fully won, and Krzywicki's words are still valid today.

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